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# American Literature

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## THE ORPHIC SAGE: BRONSON ALCOTT

AUSTIN WARREN

*Boston University*

BRONSON ALCOTT, perhaps the most representative, certainly the most picturesque figure among the New England Transcendentalists, does not deserve to reach posterity in the guise of impractical parent to an outmoded story-teller for girls. A butt for the satire of the Philistine among his contemporaries, Alcott won and held the respect of the intellectuals of his day both as man and as thinker.

His idiom of thought was archaic: he was "a neo-Platonist born out of due time, a sort of survival"; but his "universe of discourse" was genuine, not mimed. Among the Transcendentalists there moved this mystic and sage, extracting his dole of individualistic indulgence quite as much in retrospective as in anticipatory gaze. He accepted his post in the world: the time, the place, the circumstances were God-appointed. With dignity and persistent, serene faith, he stood his ground, a philosopher.

Alcott was by profession a sage and by trade an educationalist. He conducted experimental and "advanced" schools in Cheshire, Connecticut, Philadelphia, and Boston;<sup>1</sup> superintended the public schools of sacred Concord for a few years,<sup>2</sup> and, in extreme old age, gratified lifelong ambitions in the founding and maintenance of the Concord Summer School of Philosophy,<sup>3</sup> a notable venture into the metaphysical Empyrean.

For nearly fifty years Alcott exercised his calling as sage in the conduct of the "conversation" which served him as vehicle of ex-

<sup>1</sup> Honoré Willsie Morrow, who had access to the fifty volumes of Alcott's Journals (denied scholars by their present owner) has devoted her unfortunately named *The Father of Little Women* (1927) to a full and appreciative account of these private schools; she does not mention the Concord superintendency. Mrs. Morrow pretends to no special qualifications for her task, but she has an enthusiasm for her subject, and she believes that Alcott "was and is the greatest of all America's schoolmasters."

<sup>2</sup> His three printed reports, to be found in the Concord Public Library, deserve to be better known, especially that for 1861. In addition to their exposition of "advanced" educational doctrine and practice, they contain detailed analyses of the instructors in their classrooms, their personalities and methods; the spirit of the classes.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article "The Concord School of Philosophy," *The New England Quarterly*, II (1929), 199-233.

pression as the lecture served Emerson. He led, as his neighbor wrote, "the life of a peripatetic philosopher, conversing in cities and villages wherever invited, on divinity, on human nature, on ethics, on dietetics, and a wide range of practical questions."<sup>4</sup> On his missions he journeyed as far west as St. Louis, where he had the good fortune to encounter an eager set of Hegelians, one of whom, W. T. Harris, became his most intelligent interpreter:<sup>5</sup> everywhere he went, his presence gathered the questing minds, the young in a state of *Aufklärung*, the old persistent in a mood of inquiry.

Alcott's own intellectual development may be traced with considerable definiteness from 1825 on, when we find him at Cheshire, reading with his uncle, Dr. Bronson (then at the head of the Cheshire Academy), books like Dwight's theology, Stewart and Locke on the philosophy of the mind, and Watts's logic, standard eighteenth-century fare for the "understanding."<sup>6</sup>

The turn of thought commonly denominated Transcendental appears in his diary as early as 1826, and appears quite without derivation. "Where," he asks, "is the individual who boldly dares assert opinions differing with preëstablished notions,—dares to think for himself? . . . And millions of minds are in this state of slavery to authority of books and dogmas and tyranny. How shall they escape? Rebel. Think for themselves; let others grumble. Dare to be singular; let others deride."<sup>7</sup>

In 1827 he attacks the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation:

Those who at the present day idolize the person of Jesus Christ, asserting him to be God, exhibit the disposition of men in ancient times to deify such of their fellow-men as performed great and magnanimous actions . . . Jesus unquestionably was a great and good man, a prodigy of the time in which he lived . . . His was the best system of ethics which had been offered to man; it was adapted to his situation and wants at the time. But I am not sure that in all respects it is equally adapted

<sup>4</sup> From Emerson's sketch of Alcott contributed to Appleton's *New American Cyclopædia* (1858); reprinted in its entirety in Sanborn and Harris, *A. Bronson Alcott* (1893), II, 535-537. Another account was substituted for Emerson's in the 1873 edition of Appleton's.

<sup>5</sup> Sanborn and Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 552-553. For a fuller account of Alcott, Harris, and Brookmeyer at St. Louis, cf. Denton J. Snider, *A Writer of Books in his Generation*, published by the Sigma Publishing Company, St. Louis, Mo., in 1910, Chapter Fourth, II, "Emerson and Alcott in St. Louis," pp. 334 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Sanborn and Harris, I, 73.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 83-85.

to the present state. I am unwilling to admit that while improvement in every other science is striding forward with rapidity, nothing is to be effected in the all-concerning science of religion.<sup>8</sup>

These are the views for which, fourteen years later, Theodore Parker was excommunicated by the Unitarians of Dr. Channing's school.

Alcott was reared in tenets and practices of the Episcopal Church; but about the time of these entries he ceased to think of himself as a Churchman, dissenting from liturgy as well as dogma: in the services of the Prayer Book "Nothing natural, original, or spontaneous was permitted to appear. The primitive, beaten path track of former generations is thought the only right way among this people, who forget that modes and systems should often be changed to suit the changes of improving society, and that the Spirit alone is essential."<sup>9</sup>

During his operation of private schools in Philadelphia from 1831 to 1834, Alcott had access to a number of rich libraries; and his serious reading, especially in philosophy, had here its inception. He made himself familiar with Plato and Aristotle and Bacon, with Coleridge and Carlyle and Shelley.<sup>10</sup> It was Coleridge, he later testified, who introduced him to metaphysical idealism.

In 1833 I was a disciple of Experience, trying to bring my theories within the Baconian method of Induction and took the philosophy of Aristotle as the exponent of humanity, while my heart was even then lingering around the theories of Plato, without being conscious of it. A follower of Aristotle was I in theory, yet a true Platonist in practice. Christianity had not found its philosophical interpretation at that time in my heart; its spirit was striving for forms agreeable to the understanding. The heart's problems were seeking solution from the skill of the head. I was looking outward for the origin of the human powers, making more of phenomena than I ought; studying the concrete, without a sense of the grounds on which this was dependent for its form and continuance. It was Coleridge that lifted me out of this difficulty. The perusal of the "Aids to Reflection," the "Friend," and the "Biographia Literaria" at this time gave my mind a turn toward the spiritual. I was led deeper to seek the grounds even of experience, and found the

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 99-100.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 121.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 165.

elements of human consciousness not in impressions of external nature, but in the spontaneous life of the Spirit itself, independent of experience in space and time. Thus was I relieved from the philosophy of sense.<sup>11</sup>

In later days, Alcott maintained the same veneration of Coleridge: "I find him the most stimulating of modern British thinkers. He had wider sympathies with pure thought, and cast more piercing glances into its essence and laws than any contemporary."<sup>12</sup> Chapter XII of the *Biographia Literaria*, with its citations from Plotinus, may well have introduced Alcott to that historic school of thought with which he was in temperamental harmony, neo-Platonism. He discussed Coleridge with Dr. Channing; and it would appear to be from Coleridge that he derived the notion of a "union of the Christian with the Platonic" philosophy, which he registers in 1833 as his aim in common with Dr. Channing.

In Boston from 1834 on, Alcott superintended his celebrated Temple School, the chronicles of which<sup>13</sup> remain food for thought as well as for wonder, continued his reading in philosophy, and made, in 1835, the acquaintance of Emerson. "Last Saturday night came hither Mr. Alcott, and spent the Sabbath with me. A wise man, simple, superior to display, and drops the best things as quietly as the least."<sup>14</sup> At this time, the sage began to teach the Platonic doctrine of the preëxistence and subsequent lapse of the soul. He may be said to have attained his intellectual stature.

Emerson has been charged with inordinate admiration for his friend, and of course "his is a faith approaching to superstition concerning admirable persons. . . ."<sup>15</sup> But Emerson has perhaps erred

<sup>11</sup> *The Genius . . . of Emerson*, ed. Sanborn (Boston, 1884), p. 47. Cf. Sanborn and Harris, II, 569-570. In the passage quoted, 'understanding' is used in its Coleridgean sense.

<sup>12</sup> *Concord Days* (Boston, 1872), p. 246. Heraud points out ("A Response from America," *The Monthly Magazine*, II, 344 and 352) that Coleridge's influence was greater in America than in his own country. "When shall we in England substitute that volume [*Aids to Reflection*] for Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*? The progress made in America will re-act on England . . . ."

<sup>13</sup> *The Record of a School . . . .* (1835) and *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* (1836-1837).

<sup>14</sup> Emerson, *Journals* (Boston, 1910), III, 559. Emerson's first mention of Alcott in the *Journals* (III, 501) is under the date of July 4, 1835. "Mr. Alcott first met Emerson, and heard him speak from Dr. Channing's pulpit in 1829; but their acquaintance did not begin until . . . 1834-1835" (Sanborn, in "Emerson and Alcott," *The Genius of Emerson*, p. 37).

<sup>15</sup> Alcott's own characterization, in his discerning and noble tribute, *Emerson, Philosopher and Seer . . . .* (Boston, 1882), p. 46.

less than Alcott's Philistine detractors. Emerson with his balance of poetry and prudence, with his "Greek head on right Yankee shoulders,"<sup>16</sup> was in a position to comprehend Alcott's real virtues as no mere Philistine could, yet to preserve the proper refusal of complete capitulation.

Emerson shared with Carlyle the view that Alcott was a sort of contemporary Don Quixote, adding that his audience always played Sancho Panza.<sup>17</sup> But Emerson found the knight errant venerable rather than absurd. He had wandered in from another world, a little dazed and inarticulate, but none the less luminous. The neo-Platonic Thomas Johnson addressed Alcott as "one of the brightest of Heaven's exiles straying from the orb of light."<sup>18</sup> Though Emerson was not a sharer in the cosmology of the "lapse," he rendered on empirical grounds a similar verdict. "Our Alcott," he wrote, "has only just missed being a seraph. A little English finish and articulation to his potentialities, and he would have compared with the greatest."<sup>19</sup> And again:

Alcott came, the magnificent dreamer, brooding, as ever, on the renewal or reëdification of the social fabric after ideal law, heedless that he has been uniformly rejected by every class to whom he has addressed himself, and just as sanguine and vast as ever. . . . Very pathetic it is to see this wandering Emperor from year to year making his round of visits from house to house of such as do not exclude him, seeking a companion, tired of pupils.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Lowell, *A Fable for Critics*.

<sup>17</sup> Sanborn and Harris, I, 78; *Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson* (London, 1883), II, 8. Carlyle's "venerable Don Quixote . . . all bent on saving the world by a return to acorns" has made its way into the 1929 *Britannica*, which further attributes to Carlyle the opprobrious "Potato Quixote." In a letter to Carlyle, written in 1880, C. E. Norton (shortly to edit the Carlyle-Emerson correspondence) alludes satirically to the "Summer School of Philosophy at Concord of which your old acquaintance, the potato-and-apple Evangelist, Alcott, is the High Priest" (Norton, *Letters*, II, 113).

Alcott did not descend to epithet-mongering, but he has written some telling characterizations of Carlyle: cf. his *Emerson* (1882), pp. 26-30 and Sanborn's *The Genius of Emerson*, p. 64.

<sup>18</sup> Dedication to *Three Treatises of Plotinus* (Osceola, Missouri, 1880). Johnson, the editor of the [neo-] *Platonist*, Dr. Hiram K. Jones, of Jacksonville, Illinois, and Alcott comprise an interesting trio of nineteenth-century neo-Platonists, all quite outside the academic pale.

<sup>19</sup> Sanborn and Harris, I, 66, n. (written 1861). But the English Cholmondeley, after hearing of Alcott's early life, "wondered that a pedler should have educated himself so well, and have acquired such graceful manners,—'They are (he said) the manners of a very great peer.'" (Sanborn and Harris, II, 492-493).

<sup>20</sup> *Journals*, VI, 472 (1843).

A contemporary Don Quixote, a strayed seraph, an exiled heir to the throne, an itinerant emperor: Emerson will add one more analogy: "Alcott is a simple person, a natural Levite, a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek, whom all good persons would readily combine, one would say, to maintain as a priest by voluntary contribution to live in his own cottage, literary and spiritual, and choosing his own methods of teaching and action."<sup>21</sup>

Speaking without a figure, Emerson declared his friend "the most refined and most advanced soul we have had in New England, who makes all other souls appear slow and cheap and mechanical; a man of such a courtesy and greatness, that (in conversation) all others, even the intellectual, seem sharp and fighting for victory, and angry. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

Nor was this high estimate the aberration of a first enthusiasm. Emerson's son testifies that his father "through the long years of their acquaintance, always said that he found more stimulus and elevation in private talk with Mr. Alcott than with any other man."<sup>23</sup> And what is considered the last notice of Alcott in the *Journals* (August, 1866) yields in pitch to none:

As pure intellect, I have never seen his equal. The people with whom he talks do not even understand him. They interrupt him with clamorous dissent, or what they think verbal endorsement of what they fancy he may have been saying . . . ; and do not know that they have interrupted his large and progressive statement, do not know that all they have in their baby brains is spotty and incoherent, that all he sees and says is like astronomy, lying there real and vast, and every part and fact in eternal connection with the whole. . . . Alcott's activity of mind is shown in the perpetual invention and felicity of his language. . . . The moral benefits of such a mind cannot be told. The world fades: men, reputations, politics shrivel: the interests, powers, future of the soul beam a new dayspring. Faith becomes sight.<sup>24</sup>

What did Alcott do for Emerson? Two things, assuredly. He incarnated the neo-Platonist and the mystic. The idealistic philosophy reached Emerson through a variety of minds: through Cudworth and Berkeley and Swedenborg and Plato and the Oriental scriptures. But these were voices from the library; and books were

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 291.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 362.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 413, n.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 157-158.



to Emerson confirmations rather than sources. The intuitions in his own spirit were primary; and he found in Alcott another who affirmed with an assurance much more firm than Emerson could command this primacy of the spirit. The "Orphic poet" in the concluding chapter of *Nature* is Alcott.<sup>25</sup> "I shall write on his tomb," said Emerson, "there lies Plato's reader."<sup>26</sup> He was more than a reader; he was an intimate: to vary the figure, he hailed from the land of which he spoke. "It were too much to say," Emerson wrote in his *Journals*, "that the Platonic world I might have learned to treat as cloudland, had I not known Alcott, who is a native of that country, yet I will say that he makes it as solid as Massachusetts to me. . . ."<sup>27</sup> Yet his Platonism was not primarily reproductory: he was *anima naturaliter Platonica*. Upon this point Emerson again:<sup>28</sup> Alcott is "an idealist, and we should say Platonist, if it were not doing injustice to give any name implying secondariness to the highly original habit of his salient and intuitive mind." A reader of Plato, the neo-Platonists, and the mystics of all ages, Alcott taught doctrines akin to theirs not from erudition or learned hearsay but from perception and insight.

And then Alcott could listen as well as expound: and Emerson needed a listener—a creative listener, who should, by his understanding and sympathy evoke the lofty and deathless in one's nature, one's intimations of immortality. Philosopher as well as writer and citizen, Emerson found in Alcott a spirit hospitable to all conceivable ideas and ideals, save only those of the market-place. "Alcott," he writes in his *Journals*, "is a certain fluid in which men of a certain spirit can easily expand themselves and swim at large, they who elsewhere found themselves confined. . . . Me has he served now these twelve years in that way; he was the reasonable creature

<sup>25</sup> Sanborn and Harris (*op. cit.*, I, 241): "It was the belief of some, and of Alcott himself, that those portions of the last chapter [of *Nature*] which are ascribed to 'a certain poet,' were derived in part from his conversations with the elder mystic"; cf. also Harris (II, 567-568). For corroboration, cf. Emerson's *Journals*, IV, 73, n. 2. And see Dr. Harris's suggestive remarks in "Emerson's Philosophy of Nature," *The Genius of Emerson*, pp. 356-362: "I cannot think that Emerson ever held the doctrine of the Lapse, or believed it seriously to be a true view of the world." But Alcott did; and it is this theory which is assigned to the lips of the Orphic poet.

Heraud, reviewing a bundle of Transcendentalist brochures from America (*The Monthly Magazine*, II, 346-351), actually took the anonymous *Nature* to be from Alcott's pen.

<sup>26</sup> *Journals*, VII, 525.

<sup>27</sup> *Journals*, VIII, 303.

<sup>28</sup> In the sketch for Appleton's *Cyclopædia* (Sanborn and Harris, II, 537).

to speak to that I wanted."<sup>29</sup> Or again, to Carlyle, he puts it: "A man named Bronson Alcott is a majestic soul, with whom conversation is possible. He is capable of truth, and gives me the same glad astonishment that he should exist which the world does."<sup>30</sup>

Emerson came to feel that Alcott was limited in his themes of discourse. Life found interpretation through two or three persistent doctrines: one was always being brought back to the temperaments, or the lapse, or the One. "He is, to be sure, monotonous; you may say, one gets tired of the uniformity,—he will not be amused, he never cares for the pleasant side of things, but always truth and their origin he seeketh after."<sup>31</sup> But after all, Alcott's habitual themes were of the grandest; his habitual level of thought was of the most elevated. There were others in plenty to whom one could talk of cabbages and kings, neighbors whose minds ran on politics and agriculture. Not so easily was one to obtain converse with an American Pythagoras or Jamblichus or Boehme. That such a persistent affirmer of the primacy of the spirit dwelt within distance of an easy stroll down his own road never ceased to give comfort. "Alcott has the merit of being a believer in the soul. I think he has more faith in the Ideal than any man I have known,"<sup>32</sup> Emerson writes.

The Transcendental Club began its irregular sessions in 1836; in 1840, *The Dial*, designed as the literary organ of Transcendentalism, was inaugurated with Margaret Fuller and George Ripley as its editors, to be succeeded by Emerson. Alcott was one of the original members of the Club; and the first instalment of his *Orphic Sayings*<sup>33</sup> appeared in the initial number of the magazine.

The *Sayings* occasioned, upon their appearance, much silly laugh-

<sup>29</sup> Emerson's *Journals*, VII, 524.

<sup>30</sup> *The Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, I, 223.

<sup>31</sup> Emerson's *Journals*, IV, 237-238. "They say of Alcott, and I have sometimes assented, that he is one-toned, and hearkens with no interest to books or conversation out of the scope of his one commanding idea. May be so, but very different is his centralism from that of vulgar monomaniacs. . . ." *Journals* IV, (1838), 403.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 494.

<sup>33</sup> *The Dial*, nos. 1 and 3 (July, 1840, and January, 1841). On the title of the *Sayings*, see Sanborn and Harris, II, 583. The "mystery" cult associated with the name of Orpheus taught its initiates Alcott's favorite doctrine of the preëxistence and lapse of the soul, and prescribed (as did he) abstinence from meat. There existed a considerable Orphic literature, of which only fragments remain. Thomas Taylor published in 1792 a translation of *The Hymns of Orpheus*.

ter—a laughter which rippled through the Boston newspapers and the drawing rooms of Beacon Hill. Both substance and form struck the uninitiate as novel, extravagant, esoteric. They were thought to furnish a fitting *reductio ad absurdum* of Transcendental pretensions. But the present-day reader at all versed in the history of philosophy will fancy the laughter in the main unenlightened, proceeding from lack of acquaintance with the *genre* within which Alcott worked,<sup>34</sup> from suspicion of all dallying with the Absolute, rather than from any surer intellectual perception, any really qualified judgment.

The *Orphic Sayings*, Alcott's first attempt at a literary exposition of his doctrines, is less systematic than his later versions. His hope that the *Sayings* would comprise a "complete series of sentences, which would carry the appreciative reader through the descent from spirit to matter, and upward again to the first origin"<sup>35</sup> was scantily realized. But the *Sayings* may perhaps be preferred for literary effectiveness over the expanded versions in *Tablets* and *Table-Talk*.<sup>36</sup> Ranging from the aphorism to the *pensée*, they remain definitely within the *genre* Mr. Pearsall Smith has denoted as "laconic." The oracular form suggests the prophet, the hierophant. What are offered constitute not reasoned discourses, or treatises proceeding from the understanding: they are intimations, vatic utterances, revelations from the soul to the soul. The seers and sages of India, of Palestine, of Greece, had taught in dark sayings: Alcott, as sage and seer *redivivus* speaks on similar wise.

In doctrine the *Sayings* combine the now familiar doctrines of Transcendental individualism as they have reached us through the essays of Emerson with a strain peculiar to Alcott among the Transcendentalists—his neo-Platonism. Emerson was sympathetic with

<sup>34</sup> One can readily call up Alcott's literary and philosophical milieu by glancing over the list of the thousand volumes which composed his library at Fruitlands. The list includes almost the total repertory of the mystics; Thomas Taylor's translations of Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Proclus; the Cambridge Platonists; as well as Bacon, Burton, Browne, the seventeenth-century "metaphysical" poets; and Coleridge. The list was published, at the instigation of Emerson or Thoreau, in *The Dial* (III, 545-548) and is reprinted in C. E. Sears, *Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands* (Boston, 1915), pp. 177-185.

<sup>35</sup> Sanborn and Harris, II, 583.

<sup>36</sup> *Tablets* (1868) and *Table-Talk* (1877) are both divided into two books, "Practical" and "Speculative" (i.e., Ethical and Metaphysical) but are throughout philosophical in character. A third volume, *Concord Days* (1872), is a literary miscellany, but includes essays on Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, Boehme, Berkeley, and Coleridge.

some aspects of the Plotinian teaching, but Emerson was an evolutionist. Alcott was an emanationist: he held to the theory of creation by lapse from the One.<sup>37</sup>

The soul works from centre to periphery, veiling her labor from the ken of the senses. . . . Appearance, though first to sense, is last in the order of generation. . . .

The popular genesis is historical. It is written to sense, not to the soul. [According to this fallacious theory,] two principles, diverse and alien, interchange the Godhead and sway the world by turns. God is dual. Spirit is derivative. . . . Yet in the true genesis, nature is globed in the material, soul orb'd in the spiritual firmament. Love globes, wisdom orbs, all things. As magnet the steel, so spirit attracts matter. . . . All genesis is of love. Wisdom is her form: beauty her costume.

Such the metaphysic of *emanation*. It we translate this descent from spirit through intellect into matter and sense, we discover the history of the soul.

All life is eternal; there is none other; and all unrest is but the struggle of the soul to reassure herself of her inborn immortality; to recover her lost intuition of the same, by reason of her descent amidst the lusts and worship of the idols of flesh and sense. . . . [The soul's] vague strivings, and Cyclopean motions confess an aim beyond the confines of transitory natures; she is quivered with heavenly desires: her quarry is above the stars: her arrows are snatched from the armoury of heaven.

In his fine elegy upon Emerson,<sup>38</sup> Alcott turns his doctrine into poetry:

Come, then, Mnemosyne! and on me wait,  
As if for Ion's harp thou gav'st thine own;

<sup>37</sup> *Table-Talk* ("Interleaves," 116-117) contains a formularization of Alcott's doctrine by Dr. Harris:

a. The first Principle, or God, is a Person—self-determining or creative, self-dirempting or self-dissecting.

b. He creates that which is most like Himself, hence self-determined or creative beings. They differ from the Absolute Person only in degree; they are pure souls.

c. These pure souls may lapse or may not. They have the possibility of lapse, since they are free.

d. Those that lapse create thereby bodies for themselves; and, lapsing still further, generate the lower animals, and, these continuing the lapse, beget the plant world: and thence results the inorganic world. [*Cf. Tablets*, 189-190]

e. The limit to the lapse is the atom (*i.e.*, complete self-externality, or space, or chaos).

<sup>38</sup> "Ion," VIII, in Alcott's *Emerson*, p. 64.

Recall the memories of man's ancient state,  
Ere to this lost orb had his form dropt down,  
Clothed in the cerements of his chosen fate;  
Oblivious here of heavenly glories flown,  
Lapsed from the high, the fair, the blest estate,  
Unknowing these, and by himself unknown. . . .

With Emerson, Alcott deplores reliance upon majorities, reliance upon institutions, reliance upon mammon; with Emerson, Alcott invokes self-reliance, invokes religion of the spirit, invokes plain living and high thinking. But for his ethics Alcott presupposes the metaphysics not of Kant or Schelling but of Plotinus and Proclus. He takes up a tradition which had never totally lapsed and which today is enjoying a genuine revival among philosophical scholars. It is fair to say that the philosophy of Alcott creates no such surprise in the age of Inge as in the age of Parker. No doubt there were subsidiary elements of the fantastic in the mind of Bronson Alcott, but in the main that mind grasped with clarity and maintained with persistence a world view which has ever retained the respect of the philosophically minded.

## ALCOTT'S "CONVERSATION" ON THE TRANSCENDENTAL CLUB AND THE DIAL

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FEW OF the Transcendentalists have left us accounts of their activities during the days when Boston was curious about their heresies and they themselves had hopes of making a dent in the panoply of American orthodoxy. Accordingly, considerable value is to be attached to Alcott's "conversation" on the Transcendental Club and *The Dial*, in spite of our knowledge that "The Father of Little Women" was hopelessly incapable of disciplining his mind in the requirements of history. The people who gathered in 1863 to hear his remarks and to ask him questions must have been astonished at the array of facts and names which issued from his lips, for they, too, were aware of his proneness to indulge an idea at the expense of accurate thinking. But the secret of Alcott's success as a historian lay in the fact that he had faithfully kept a journal, which he used in preparing the notes for his discourse.

The text of the "conversation" is reproduced from *The Commonwealth* (April 24, 1863), a Boston weekly newspaper which was edited for a number of years by Frank Sanborn. A portion of it, dealing with the Transcendental Club, was reprinted by G. W. Cooke in the fifth chapter of his volume entitled *Ralph Waldo Emerson: His Life, Writings, and Philosophy* (Boston, 1881); but since specimens of Alcott's "conversations" are not readily available to many students of American literature, it has seemed desirable to print the entire text.

### THE TRANSCENDENTAL CLUB AND THE DIAL

A Conversation by A. Bronson Alcott, Boston, Monday Evening,  
March 23, 1863.

I AM to speak this evening of the Transcendental Club, and of *The Dial*. And first of the Club. Its first meeting was held in this city, at the house of Mr. George Ripley, on the 19th of September, 1836. The persons present were Messieurs Ripley, Emerson, [Frederick H.] Hedge, [Convers] Francis, [James Freeman] Clarke, and one other.<sup>1</sup> It was a preliminary meeting, to see how far it would

<sup>1</sup> Alcott.

be possible for earnest minds to meet, and with the least possible formality communicate their views. They dispensed with any election of a chairman; if there was to be any precedence, it naturally belonged to the oldest. At that time, the oldest of that company was Mr. Francis. They gave invitations to Dr. Channing, to Jonathan Phillips, to Mr. [James] Walker, Mr. [N. L.] Frothingham, to J. S. Dwight, W. H. Channing, and to Mr. [C. A.] Bartol, to join them if they chose to do so. The three last appeared afterwards, and met the Club frequently. They adjourned to meet at a house in Beach Street,<sup>2</sup> on the afternoon of October 3rd, at three o'clock. They met there; and—to show you how they wished to address the times and each other—the subject of discussion was this: "American Genius—the causes which hinder its growth giving us no first rate productions." There were present at that meeting: Emerson, Hedge, Francis, Ripley, [Orestes A.] Brownson, Clarke, Bartol, and the host. Few of these persons had printed at that time as much, perhaps, as a sermon. Some of them were just from the University—the younger members. Let us see what was thought and purposed at that time—this being in September and October, 1836. Mr. Emerson's first book, called *Nature*, was just published. It was a very thin volume, as those know who have read it; and yet a very solid and really bulky book. Mr. Emerson also began to lecture in December of that year. He gave twelve lectures in this city. Would you like to hear their titles? "History," "Art," "Science," "Literature," "Politics," "Religion," "Society," "Trades and Professions," "Manners," "Ethics," "The Present Age" (two lectures)—twelve in all.<sup>3</sup> He had read a few lectures before that, by way of trying—one on Chaucer, one on Shakespeare, one on Bacon—a few lectures, in a former season. They had not been very largely attended, nor were these, though they were highly appreciated by those who came. This series shows the breadth and depth of the mind then first attempting to teach mankind in the lecture-room. I know not what central topic in that list is omitted. So like himself, always dwelling at the center, and seeing on all sides of him.

Margaret Fuller came to Boston in December of that same year,

<sup>2</sup> Alcott's home.

<sup>3</sup> This list should be compared with that prepared by J. E. Cabot for his memoir of Emerson (Appendix F).

for the first time, to live. Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* was published in this country that same year, also. It had been printed in an English journal, two or three years before, and had been read by a few persons here—read by this circle, especially. Mr. Brownson, too, had come to Boston, and was lecturing. He commenced his lectures elsewhere, but at last gave them every Sunday in the Masonic Temple. They were very well attended. He published, also, his first book, entitled, *New Views*,<sup>4</sup>—about as thick as *Nature*. Mr. [W. H.] Furness printed his book on *The Gospels* the same year—1836.<sup>5</sup> You will excuse me if I venture to mention a book of *Conversations on the Gospels*,<sup>6</sup> also printed this year, and which I value, for this, among other reasons—it intimated what children might say on subjects about which senior divines were no better informed than they; and I confess I have since thought, had the divines themselves, many of them, been pupils of the young divinity students, they, too, might have graduated with advantage.

There had been added to the Club, or Symposium, in 1837, Caleb Stetson, Mr. [Theodore] Parker (then in the Divinity School), Margaret Fuller, and Miss [Elizabeth] Peabody. Frequently, members brought their friends. Thomas T. Stone afterwards joined it. Mr. Brownson commenced his *Quarterly Review*<sup>7</sup> in 1837. Here, too, is another event deserving to be mentioned. Mr. Garrison, before this time, had agitated New England on the subject of slavery; and at a meeting, in December, 1837, called by Dr. Channing, and of which Jonathan Phillips was chairman, to signify the wrong which had been done to the principles of free speech at Alton, in Illinois, in the death of Lovejoy, the martyr, a certain young orator,<sup>8</sup> then unknown, after one of the speakers had thrown all manner of obloquy upon the Anti-Slavery cause, and especially upon the martyr himself, took occasion to spring to the stand amidst the tumult, and pour out such a stream of eloquence that the party upon whom it fell has never recovered. That was in 1837.

This Club was called the "Transcendental Club," because its

<sup>4</sup> *New Views of Christianity, Society and the Church.*

<sup>5</sup> *Remarks on the Four Gospels.*

<sup>6</sup> The first volume of Alcott's *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* appeared in 1836; the second, in 1837.

<sup>7</sup> *The Boston Quarterly Review* (1838-1842).

<sup>8</sup> Wendell Phillips.



members imagined the senses did not contain the mind. Contrary to Locke and all the modern philosophers, they ventured to believe that Plato and the Alexandrians—the ancients—had a metaphysics which corresponded to the wants of the human mind, and was adequate to its expression. They were called “Transcendentalists” from the philosopher Kant, as parties present well know; but “Symposium” seemed to be the better name for a Club or company of earnest persons enjoying their conversation. They met at Concord and Watertown during the summer of 1837. I think I may say these interviews were delightful to all of them. It was conversation indeed, upon the highest, and subtlest, and finest themes. So far as there was any show of order, it was something like this: The senior member, Mr. Francis,—the company being seated—would invite the members as they sat, to make any remarks, which they did. I believe there was seldom an inclination on the part of any to be silent. Always, or nearly always, every person present contributed something to the conversation. At this time, Theology, in this community, was the theme of general discussion. Dr. [L.] Beecher had come to Boston years before, to put down Unitarianism, as he fondly fancied, by preaching his Puritan views—the views of Calvin. These, however, had passed away, in good measure; and the views of Mr. [Andrews] Norton, of the Divinity School, were in the ascendant. Dr. Channing had published his essays in *The Examiner*;<sup>9</sup> he was also preaching when he was able to do so. I believe there were not a great many sermons in the course of a year, but these were memorable discourses.

I remember the doctrine of Personality early came up for discussion at this Club. It was the fashion to speak against personality—the orthodox view of it—and the favorite phrase was “Impersonality.” In attempting to liberate the true view from the superstitions which had gathered about it in coming down through Calvinism, through Puritanism, the parties made the mistake of conceiving individuality to be the central thought; and at these meetings that subject was discussed. Impersonality—Law, Right, Justice, Truth—these were the central ideas; but where the Power was in which they inhered, how they were related to one another, what was to give them vitality—these questions were quite neglected, and left

<sup>9</sup> *The Christian Examiner*.

out of sight. Hence we read in the books and journals published about that time, of Law, Justice, Right, and the rest. That view pervades *Nature*, also the lectures of Mr. Emerson, and, indeed, almost all the writings of his school. Those of you who have been present for any number of evenings lately will comprehend very distinctly what I mean by saying that. I think that was the deficiency of the Transcendental school; is its deficiency still; is the reason why it has not incorporated itself into a Church, and been found equal to compete with orthodoxy, and the old Puritanism, which, whatsoever may have been its blunders—whatsoever superstitions may have been mingled with its doctrines—did believe in a Person, and did not allow itself to discriminate personality away into laws and ideas. There are some signs now that the true doctrine is likely to find favor; it has appeared lately in the essays of a subtle writer in *The Atlantic Monthly*.<sup>10</sup>

Mr. Ripley's "Philosophical Miscellanies"<sup>11</sup>—translations from German philosophy—were published about this time. They were translations by himself, by Mr. [John S.] Dwight, by Mr. William H. Channing, and by Miss Fuller; Mr. [Samuel] Osgood also contributed a volume, later. The same year the Board of Education was established, and the public mind began to be turned toward the importance of diffusing better views on the subject of the education of the people. That was in 1837. In August of that year, Mr. Emerson delivered his Phi Beta Kappa Address at Cambridge, on *The American Scholar*. I believe that was the first adequate statement of the new views which had been made that really attracted general attention. I had the good fortune to hear that address, and I shall not forget the delight with which I heard it, nor the mixed confusion, consternation, surprise and wonder with which the audience listened to it. That, of course, is familiar to every person present this evening. In that we remember his declaration that this country had been too much beholden to the old, that it was time for it to do its own thinking, that it was due to the American genius to

<sup>10</sup> Possibly David A. Wasson. See, for example, his article on "Individuality" (*The Atlantic Monthly*, IX, 424-429 (April, 1862)).

<sup>11</sup> Ripley was general editor of a series of *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, whose title Alcott has confused with that of the first two volumes in that series; namely, *Philosophical Miscellanies*, translated from the French of Victor Cousin, Théodore Jouffroy, and Benjamin Constant (1838).

declare itself. Has not the orator's conduct abundantly justified the assertions he then made?

To show how the topics about which I have been speaking interested the Club—in May, 1838, the same company again met—Mr. Frothingham, being present, for the first time, and the only time that I ever saw him—at Medford; and they discussed this question, "Is Mysticism an element of Christianity?" They had touched the seat and root of things, as you observe, by that question. It was very generally and ably discussed. Mr. Emerson was almost always present. On not more than two or three occasions during the three or four years that the Club met—four or five times a year, probably—was he absent. Indeed, the members looked forward with great delight to the opportunity of meeting him. They were presently scattered abroad. Mr. Hedge had gone as far as Bangor [Maine], and others had gone to some distance; but it was arranged that during the season of recreation, when these persons came to the city, the meetings should be held quite often. They were held at Watertown, at Newton, Concord, Milton, Chelsea (where Mr. Brownson was then living), frequently in Boston, and perhaps elsewhere. It was in July, 1838, that Mr. Emerson read his address to the Senior Class in Divinity Hall. That came still nearer the core and center of things. He read, also, a few days after, at Dartmouth College, his oration on *Literary Ethics*. Mr. Norton, about the same time, published his pamphlet entitled *The Latest Form of Infidelity*.<sup>12</sup>

A great deal might be said, were there time, of the discussions of that day. The first time *The Dial* was proposed for discussion was at the meeting of the Club at Mr. Bartol's in 1839. There were present Messieurs Bartol, Hedge, Channing, Ripley, Parker, Miss Fuller, and one other.<sup>13</sup> I may have omitted some whom I do not now recall. I find no others named in my notes. Miss Fuller gave Conversations on Greek Mythology in the autumn of that year—1839. Those were well attended. There are persons here who could give better accounts of them than I can myself—ladies who attended them. There had been Conversations also at the Masonic Temple, at the house in Beach Street, and in several of the suburban

<sup>12</sup> A reply to Emerson's *Divinity School Address*.

<sup>13</sup> Alcott.

towns, during all this period. Jones Very's *Poems and Essays* were published in September, 1839; very significant they were, too, as if, in answer to the inquiry whether Mysticism was an element of Christianity, here was an illustration of it in a living person, and himself present at the Club. They are very remarkable poems and essays. There had been nothing printed until *Nature*, unless it may have been Mr. Sam[p]son Reed's little book called *The Growth of the Mind*, which had intimated genius of the like subtle, chaste, and simple quality.<sup>14</sup> Mr. Emerson, in the winter of 1839-40, gave lectures in Boston on "The Present Age," which attracted much attention, and won a large attendance. They were delivered in the Masonic Temple, as were most of his subsequent courses. That was the hall then frequented for lectures.

It was not until July, 1840, that the first number of *The Dial* was printed. It was a quarterly journal. The contributors to the first number were all, or nearly so, members of the Club. Mr. Ripley and Miss Fuller took charge of the papers, and edited it chiefly. It may interest you if I give you the contents of the first few numbers.<sup>15</sup>

No. I. "Editors to the Reader," and verses entitled "The Problem," by Mr. Emerson. "Essay on Critics," "Exhibition of Allston's Pictures," and verses entitled "The Dahlia and the Sun," by Margaret Fuller. "Religion of Beauty," and "Concerts of [the Past] Winter," by Mr. Dwight. "Brownson's Writings Reviewed," by Mr. Ripley. "Ernest, the Seeker," by W. H. Channing. "Channing's Translation of Jouffroy's *Ethics*," by a Mr. [W. D.] Wilson, then just graduated from Divinity Hall—since become, I have understood, an Episcopal minister. "Divine Presence in Nature, and [in] the Soul," by Mr. Parker. Verses entitled "Sympathy," by Thoreau. Verses "To the Aurora Borealis," and "Stanzas," by [Christopher P.] Cranch. And there were some "Sayings," also contributed, about which I have nothing to say.<sup>16</sup>

No. II. (October, 1840) "Thoughts on Modern Literature" (W.

<sup>14</sup> For the influence of Sampson Reed's *Observations on the Growth of the Mind* upon Emerson, see "Sampson Reed, A Teacher of Emerson," by C. P. Hotson (*The New England Quarterly*, II, 249).

<sup>15</sup> Alcott does not mention all of the contributions to the earlier numbers of *The Dial*. His list should be compared with that compiled by G. W. Cooke for the introduction to the Rowfant Club's reprint of *The Dial* (I, chap. XXXII).

<sup>16</sup> Alcott's "Orphic Sayings," which afforded amusement to many readers of *The Dial*.

E. Channing's new poetry then first noticed), and verses entitled "Woodnotes," by Emerson. "First Crossing the Alleghanies," by Clarke. "A Sign from the West," and "Musings of a Recluse," by Cranch. "Art of Life the Scholar's Calling," by Hedge. "A [Lesson] for the Day," and "Truth Against the World," by Parker. "Ernest, the Seeker," continued by W. H. Channing. "Record of the Months," by Ripley.

No. III. (January, 1841) "Man in the Ages," by Mr. [Thomas T.] Stone. Verses, "Questionings," by Hedge. "Menzel's View of Goethe," "The Magnolia of Lake Pon[t]chartrain," and "Meta," by Margaret Fuller. "Ideals of Every-Day Life," by Dwight. "German Literature," by Parker. Verses entitled "The Snow-Storm," and "The Sphinx," and "Thoughts on Art," by Emerson. More of those "Sayings," by a nameless writer. "Woman," by Mrs. George Ripley. "Glimmerings," and verses entitled "Color and Light," "The Ocean," and "The Riddle," by Cranch. "Record of the Months," again, by Ripley.

No. IV. (April, 1841) "Unitarian Movement in New England," by the same Mr. Wilson. "Ideals of Every-Day Life," by Dwight. "Dialogue between Poet and Critic," and "Leila," by Margaret Fuller. "Shelley," by a Mr. [John M.] Mackie, "Thoughts on Labor," by Mr. Parker. "Man the Reformer," a lecture, by Emerson. "Music of the Winter," by [J. F.] Tuckerman.

Here are the contents of several other numbers, but I will not read them all—only mention a few. No. V. contained "The Pharisees," by Mr. Parker—a remarkable paper. Whether or not as many of that number of *The Dial* were printed as of the others, I cannot say; but it cannot now be had at the bookstores. It contained also, Miss Fuller's article on Goethe. In the following number are "Lives of the Great Composers," by Miss Fuller; also, verses entitled "Friendship," by Thoreau; "Woodnotes [II]," and "Fate," by Emerson; and "Christ's Idea of Society," by Miss Peabody. In the following number (January, 1842) we have "Primitive Christianity," another article by Mr. Parker; we have more about the West Roxbury Community,<sup>17</sup> by Miss Peabody; sonnets by Lowell, and "The Senses and the Soul," by Emerson. So I may leave it.

<sup>17</sup> "Plan of the West Roxbury Community," *i. e.*, Brook Farm.

You will perceive that large portions of several books since published first appeared as separate papers in this journal: "Lectures on the Times," by Mr. Emerson, and "The Natural History of Massachusetts" (a paper we hope Mr. Fields will soon reprint), by Mr. Thoreau, also appeared in this publication.<sup>18</sup> Here were papers by Mr. Emerson, or compiled by him, concerning "Fourierism and the Socialists," who began at this time to become known in this country. Here also is an account of those remarkable "Chardon Street and Bible Conventions," when the friends of Universal Reform, as they called themselves, came from the mountains of Vermont, from all parts of New England and the West, to consider what was to be done to save perishing mankind. And there, for the first time, we heard the word "Comeouter." These were persons who were to come out from every thing there was in the world; and each one had in his head a new Genesis of the Universe, and was to declare his faith to all men. It was a very noteworthy period of the world, and those were noteworthy meetings. They are indescribable. Still, here is a paper, written by Mr. Emerson, on "The Chardon Street and Bible Conventions," giving an account—the only one we shall ever have<sup>19</sup>—of those meetings, with the names of the parties, most of them, describing how they talked, what they said, and what they did. Here, too, is a curious article entitled "Fruitlands."<sup>20</sup> Then came "English Reformers."<sup>21</sup> Not finding any Americans who could help to plant Paradise, it was imagined there might be some in Old England, and a sample or two came over,<sup>22</sup> who, not content to remain long, returned soon to die, and Paradise remains still to be planted. Among these, were some disciples of James Pierrepont Greaves, a remarkable person, also described in *The Dial*.<sup>23</sup> Here is another "Lecture (of Emerson's) on the Times," since printed. We have also a translation, by Mr. Thoreau, of *Prometh[e]us Bound*; and in order that the readers of *The Dial* might know something about other Bibles than the Hebrew, here

<sup>18</sup> Reprinted by Ticknor and Fields in the volume entitled *Excursions* (1863).

<sup>19</sup> Emerson's essay on "The Chardon Street Convention," included in the volume of his works entitled *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, should be compared with the account of the same convention in *William Lloyd Garrison, the story of his life, told by his children* (New York, 1885), II, 422 ff.

<sup>20</sup> By Alcott.

<sup>21</sup> By Emerson.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Wright, Charles Lane, and his son William.

<sup>23</sup> "James Pierrepont Greaves," by Charles Lane.

were "Eth[n]ical Scriptures"—sentiments from the sacred books of other countries. In No. XIII,<sup>24</sup> Mr. Parker continues his contributions; Charles Lane writes on "Social Tendencies," and tells us of "A Day with the Shakers,"—came to be one, or tried, afterwards. Then here is "Youth of the Poet and Painter," by the poet himself, W. E. Channing; a "Walk in Winter," by Mr. Thoreau—just reprinted in *The Commonwealth* newspaper<sup>25</sup> (I hope some of the present company, if they have never taken that walk, will take it with him); "The Comic," and "Ode to Beauty," by Emerson; and "The Great Lawsuit," by Margaret Fuller, since printed in a book.

There were sixteen numbers of *The Dial* printed—four numbers a year for four years. Perfect sets cannot now be had. Nos. V. and XIV. are obtained with great difficulty.<sup>26</sup>

So much for the antiquities of the times of which I propose to speak. We see what has been done since 1836, and that we are not living in the darkness the Bostonians then were; and yet it might not be amiss to inquire, how far even the excellent people of this most excellent city on the planet are become sons and daughters of light. We cannot construct men and times as we desire, inasmuch as we are all more or less in darkness. Yet, take any one of these persons here first appearing, and follow them into their several spheres of activity since that period, and see how large a part of the history of the time their lives embody. Of course, they had ancestors, from whom they inherited advantages, and are to have descendants, who shall inherit the advantages they have opened to the times; but in education, in literature, religion, civilization, politics; yes, even here, we find progress. True, we cannot see in so clear a way, what the effect of this action has been in other spheres, as we do in the State. The State is in peril, now. The institution in its old forms may pass away, for a new State is to be more firmly planted in ideas—a new New England, at least, a new Republic, whatsoever be its territorial limits. 'Tis no time to doubt. Indeed, is it not a time for the liveliest hope? Who would

<sup>24</sup> Alcott has confused numbers XIII and XIV, since nothing by Parker appears in number XIII and Lane's essay on the Shakers is in number XIV.

<sup>25</sup> "A Winter Walk" was reprinted by Frank Sanborn in *The Commonwealth* (Boston) for March 27 and April 3, 1863.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly because of the popularity of certain articles contributed by Theodore Parker.

not rather live in New England than anywhere else? Who does not rejoice in entering into the labors of his predecessors today?

*The Dial*, perhaps, was hardly known to a great many persons. Indeed, Rev. Mr. ——— thought it might be necessary to advertise the advertiser, and instruct the readers of *The Transcript* what the Transcendental Club and *Dial* meant; in what age of the world the Club existed, and what kind of "Dial" it was. It is advertised now. And we see what materials for books it contained. Mr. Thoreau's best things were printed here; many of Mr. Emerson's, and of Miss Fuller's nearly all; and so of the others. We think *The Dial* was the first fruits the Club bore, and that it is still bearing. Nearly all the members of the Club have printed books; some of them are widely circulated. The books of its principal member are more read than those of any other American by thoughtful and earnest persons, and are to make our country known abroad. Indeed, we may say, those books of his are as yet the only books which are American in their spirit and genius.

It would give me great pleasure to vary the evening's entertainment with some general conversation. I have been giving antiquities and history. They furnish topics for conversation, and there are persons here who know a great deal about them.

*A Gentleman.* You have said that the philosophy of Kant had its influence on this movement. How far did the subsequent philosophy of Germany, especially of Schelling and Hegel, influence the question of personality?

*Mr. Alcott.* I imagine Mr. Parker read the German theological writers as earnestly as any of that circle, and possibly was more influenced by them. He was a voracious reader, an eater of books, and had the power of absorbing what he read. Probably his views were very largely influenced by the German philosophy; but I am not aware the views of the other members were very largely influenced. I think not. They were not theologians; they were persons of thoughtful, earnest minds, but rather scholars than preachers.

*A Lady.* Mr. Hedge had read more than Mr. Parker.

*Mr. Alcott.* Mr. Hedge, being Mr. Parker's senior, had read very largely, and is now probably more deeply versed in German philos-



ophy and theology than any other mind. He, being really German in his faculties, has the habits of the German.

*A Lady.* He was educated there, also.

*Mr. Alcott.* And perhaps because he knew his own country.

*A Lady.* He went there when a child, and had his earliest instruction there.<sup>27</sup>

*Mr. Alcott.* We are a religious people, but not in any special haste, as in some countries, to organize our religion; and the doctrines of the last thirty years have gone against efforts of that kind. We have been Protestants—protesting against what was; have taken sides with the iconoclast, and been rather demolishing idols than planting new institutions. The time is coming when new institutions shall spring up, but hardly yet. We have been in pursuit of a Church; but the tendency of our teaching, a good deal, has been rather to favor individualism—to confirm the student or inquirer in what was peculiar to himself, more than to lead himself forth into what belongs to all mankind; I mean to say, into what I am better pleased to call the personality which all share in common. We are so very individual that we meet with difficulty; nor till parties become partakers of that personality which relates them to one another, that which is common to all, is it possible to plant a Church. We belong now to a Church with one member only—very largely so all over the country; and it is with difficulty that we can find any brother with whom we can commune. And, indeed, the doctrine of reformers has been, for the last thirty years—and how natural it was that it should be so—to protest against all organizations. Well, very good, if we can at last get free of our individuality, and become persons indeed—partake that which unites and relates us to one another. I suppose that all doctrines, heretofore, have been aiming at that; but, unfortunately, they have dropped out the mother word. Socialism was an attempt to bring men together into institutions, but it was found, by those who undertook it, that men were too individual, and the success has not warranted the outlay. Each person has taken away in his own culture the fruit of his own experiment, but is left alone, where he was before he

<sup>27</sup> In 1818 Hedge accompanied George Bancroft upon his trip to Germany. For Hedge's own account of his experiences in German schools see a sketch of his life in *The Unitarian Review* for October, 1890 (XXXIV, 281-301).

entered, in a great measure. And so it will be found in the churches, and how largely is it so in the house! In the family, the same trouble, and in the nation, the same—North and South. We cannot state that too strongly; and we feel it so profoundly, too. Unitarianism—that was a fair name many years ago. Unitarianism—a significant name, but it wanted unity; because personality was not seen to exist. Fine minds might plant, but the theory was not adequate to the thing, and it is falling apart today, so that one does not know but that each minister tomorrow or next day will be separated from every other, and each church will be an independent church, not related to any other, of necessity. I think we see it everywhere. It is the predominance of the lower faculties over the higher; predominance of the animal over the man; the predominance of the reason over the moral sentiment; of common sense over imagination. But when the culture of the country, the culture of individuals, shall have given them a harmonious growth, when all the faculties shall conform and all answer to the higher organs of the Person, to the will of the spirit, which relates the mind to its Creator, then shall we have society, then shall we have a church, then shall we have communion.

*A Gentleman.* Was this matter of Socialism discussed very often in the Club?

*Mr. Alcott.* Yes.

*A Gentleman.* Was it intimated then that the end which Socialism sought was to find or to make institutions?

*Mr. Alcott.* I think it was considered by the Club, that Socialism, if it were once planted, would be an advance upon our present institutions; but inasmuch as the theories of Socialism did not acknowledge personality, or that which united men—being an attempt to compound men, to put this man's faculty against that other man's faculty, and so by compounding the faculties to create a seeming harmony, without a real one—it was thought it must fail. The same was true with regard to Slavery. I remember the time when every member of that Club, but one,<sup>28</sup> could not conceive that Mr. Garrison, who was then just beginning to make some noise in the world, could be quite right; so strong was the prejudice, even at that time. Of course, the Mr. Garrison who was then dis-

<sup>28</sup> Probably Alcott.

cussed was the Mr. Garrison of the newspapers, and not the man known to us, because not more than one or two of the Club knew him personally. It fell to them to defend Mr. Garrison against the assaults of the Transcendental Club. There were strong individuals there; and although they were not more unlike than other men, of course there were differences of sentiment. It was said of one member, I recollect, that he had the faculty of stating both sides. If he began with Yea, he would be sure to end with Nay; and if with Nay, he would end with Yea.<sup>29</sup> One was as good as the other; it made no difference—such was the facility of the logical element.

<sup>29</sup> Probably Orestes A. Brownson.

## FENIMORE COOPER AND LAFAYETTE: THE FINANCE CONTROVERSY OF 1831-1832

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MANY and vague references have been made by students of Cooper to the so-called "Finance" or "Expenses Controversy." Mention of it also occurs in critical writings on the closing years of Lafayette's tempestuous career. But in works on the financial history of the governments of either the United States or of France, it is difficult to find any considerable discussion of it. The reason is simple: the debate was not one between governments. It occupied the French Chamber of Deputies for only a few weeks in January, 1832, during the passing of the annual budget; and it was never given official sanction by the government of the United States. But to students of Lafayette and of Cooper it is important because of the emphasis which these two men placed upon it and the resultant effects which it had on the courses of their respective thoughts and careers. Lafayette kept the controversy active in the press during the remaining three years of his life; Cooper withdrew from it as soon as his single contribution had been made and defended, but the twenty years which still lay before him were profoundly influenced by circumstances which can, at least in part, be traced to this origin.

### I

The two most notable qualities in the character of Lafayette were his amazing vitality, which did not desert him even in his last years, and the blind idealism which consistently opposed the extremes of revolution and tyranny alike. Even though largely responsible for the crowning of Louis Philippe in 1830, his passionate sympathy for the republican principles and hopes of America and Poland soon made him the leader of the opposition to the reactionary tendencies of the king and the policy of the *juste milieu* of Casimir Périer. This conflict came to an issue in the debate on the French budget of 1832, and with the patriarchal Lafayette as the chief opponent

of the government, the name of America inevitably became involved in a problem of French finance.

Two great political parties, therefore, may now be considered as distinctly arrayed against each other [wrote United States Envoy William C. Rives in his dispatch of December 28, 1831, to Secretary of State Martin Van Buren],<sup>1</sup> the one consisting of the extreme left of the Chamber, headed by General Lafayette, Dupont de l'Eure, Odillon Barrot, Mangin, &c. and supported without by the young men of the Parisian schools (to whom the recent indiscreet proceedings of the Chamber of Deputies have given an artificial importance in the state), by all the youth of France, probably, and a large portion of the liberal press—the other, composed of the ministry, a majority of the Chambers of Deputies and of Peers, the Bankers of Paris, and the men of property and age generally, carrying with them, in all probability, the mass of the nation, whose great want, at present, is a settled order of things.

Fenimore Cooper was at this time resident, with his family, on the rue St-Dominique (that part which is now the Boulevard St-Germain) in Paris. He was engaged in writing novels and enjoying the social life of the French capital, but, in his *Notions of the Americans* (1828), he had already strayed from the field of pure fiction, and his frequent visits to La Grange and in the rue d'Anjou were prompted by a sympathy of opinions on political and social topics as well as by regard for the character of the General. It was natural, therefore, that when an expert opinion was needed, Lafayette should turn to the most distinguished unofficial, and therefore independent, American within reach.

Cooper's share in this controversy and his resulting entanglement, much against his will, in internal French policy, have been frequently discussed, but always without a careful consultation of those documents which could best be obtained in France, where the controversy took place. His biographer<sup>2</sup> has rightly noted the event as perhaps the most important turning point in his career and the primary cause of that unpopularity which embittered the last fifteen years of his life and motivated his later novels with political

<sup>1</sup> *Corresp. of the American Legation at Paris with the Dept. of State*, Vol. A 2, p. 64, Dispatch No. 57. Archives of the American Embassy at Paris.

<sup>2</sup> T. R. Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper* (Boston, 1882), pp. 111-115; *n.b.* footnote to p. 113: "I express no opinion on the merits of this controversy, for I have seen very slight summaries only of the articles that appeared in the *Revue Britannique*."



and social criticism. But the reasons for his entry into the debate, as well as the extent and value of his contribution, could not be rightly estimated without a study of the contemporary parliamentary records and periodical press of France. A debate which seemed petty at times even to its participants, and seems more so now, assumes, therefore, a real biographical and historical importance because of its effects. The defense of American institutions on foreign soil, to which Cooper was urged by these circumstances, lasted for several years and engaged the attention of some of the foremost statesmen and journalists of both countries. The intricacies of the financial problem, even though they instigated the discussion, can therefore give way here to the narrative of the progress of the debate on the relative costs of the French and American governments, especially as it involved Cooper.

## II

The bare outlines of the controversy are simple. An editor who was generally accepted as a spokesman of the French government party published in his journal, several months before the debate on the budget was opened in the Chamber of Deputies, an article in which he cited the example of America to disprove the popular idea of Lafayette's party that a republican form of government is less expensive than a limited monarchy. Lafayette sent a marked copy of the journal to Cooper,<sup>3</sup> and referred the matter also to his friend, General Bernard, who had just returned to France after an extended residence in America. At his request, these two men wrote detailed replies, and the two letters were printed together in pamphlet form for presentation to the Chamber when the debate on the budget finally gained the floor. The subsequent controversy, with its contradictory statistics, its conflicting analyses of the same facts, and its persuasion, personalities, and logic, is too complex for a summary treatment.

The parts which Lafayette and P rier played in the drama were more nearly those of the *mis en sc ne* than the actor, and the Chamber of Deputies served as the stage only during the discussion and passage of the budget. The title r les were really played by Emile

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Lafayette, Paris, September 9, 1831, *Corresp. of Cooper* (New Haven, 1922), I, 245-46.

Saulnier, editor of the *Revue Britannique*, by Cooper, and by their friends and supporters, and the real action took place on the pages of numerous journals in France and America between 1831 and 1833.

The first focus of the debate is to be found in Saulnier's three articles in his journal during the last half of 1831, written independently, but probably provoked by the administration as preliminary propaganda.<sup>4</sup> Saulnier was seconded in the government organ, the *Moniteur*, as well as in the *Journal des Debats*, the *Messenger*, the *Journal de Paris*, and other administration supporters, by quotation of and comment upon his statements. With his third article there appeared a letter from Leavitt Harris, an attaché of the United States legation in Paris at the time, although later Chargé. Saulnier laid much emphasis upon the importance of this document, which was put into his hands by François Delessert, Vice-President of the Chamber, but the letter itself was little more than a clumsy attempt to smooth the troubled waters by praise of Saulnier and patronizing apology for the misguided republican zeal of his opponents. The influence which Lounsbury assigns to this letter as the agent of prolonging the controversy seems somewhat overstated, as the document was rarely quoted or referred to in the later stages of the debate. Saulnier himself still held the center of the popular attention as the proponent of the administration case. He merely introduced Harris as an expert witness in support of his other sources of information, which were such annuals and journals as happened to come to his hand, together with a statistical table for which he claimed an authoritative but anonymous American origin, but which Cooper identified and discredited as the work of the English traveler, Captain Basil Hall.<sup>5</sup>

Against these attacks Lafayette summoned two groups of his friends. The pamphlet containing the replies of Cooper and General Bernard<sup>6</sup> was supported by Emile Péreire, editor of the *National*

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Britannique*, n. s. VI, 272-324; (June, 1831); VIII, 195-260 (October, 1831), and IX, 164-194 (November, 1831). Internal evidence suggests that these issues actually appeared about three months later than their given dates.

<sup>5</sup> Basil Hall, *Travels in North America* (Edinburgh, 1829).

<sup>6</sup> *Le Général Lafayette à ses collègues de la Chambre des Députés*, Paris, 6 janvier 1832. This pamphlet contained Lafayette's letter to Cooper, dated Nov. 22, 1831, Bernard's letter to Lafayette, dated Dec. 13, 1831, and Cooper's undated reply to Lafayette. It is pref-

and the *Globe*, as well as by the *Courrier Français* and other liberal journals. The *Revue des Deux Mondes*<sup>7</sup> printed Cooper's letter in full and thus implied a support which was later to become more active.

Saulnier's replies to this pamphlet were analyzed by both Cooper and Bernard in the *National* during February and March, 1832.<sup>8</sup>

Although the arguments contained in these letters left little of Saulnier's position unassailed, Lafayette was not satisfied that his opponents had been successfully defeated. He therefore inaugurated the second stage of the controversy by addressing a request for information to Edward Livingston, then Jackson's Secretary of State, and to Albert Gallatin, former United States Envoy to Paris, and Secretary of the Treasury, but at this time a banker in New York City. The latter replied on May 12, 1833,<sup>9</sup> with some generalizations, pleading as his excuse his lack of available exact statistics and suggesting that better materials might be expected from Livingston. He also calls attention to the mistake of assuming that the amount of its taxes is an index to the success of any given form of national government, and cites the examples of Holland and Switzerland, the two freest governments on the Continent, the first of which bears the heaviest and the second the lightest taxation burden of Europe. Without specifically condemning it, he thus implies his opinion of the value of the controversy.

aced by a formal note from Lafayette presenting and explaining the documents to his colleagues of the Chamber. The English translation (*Letter of J. Fenimore Cooper to Gen. Lafayette*, Paris, Baudry, December, 1831) contains only the exchange of letters between Lafayette and Cooper. Both of these pamphlets are soon to be reproduced with a bibliographical note by the Facsimile Text Society of New York. The budget of 1832 was submitted to the Chamber by M. Baillol in the session of January 5, but its discussion was deferred to the 14th and actually opened on the 16th. Thus the date on Lafayette's pamphlet threw it before his colleagues at exactly the most opportune moment. (Cf. *Archives Parlementaires*, LXXIII, 582-604, and LXXIV, 173 ff.)

<sup>7</sup> N. s., V, 145-182 (January 15, 1832).

<sup>8</sup> Cooper's seven letters were prefaced by a note by him, February 24 (*National*, III, 55); the letters themselves, of an average length of a column and a half, appearing almost daily thereafter, i.e., on February 25, 26 (a postscript only), 28, March 1, 4, 5, and 7, 1832. Bernard's second letter, which was much longer than those of Cooper, followed on March 12. Péreire, in his capacity of editor, had previously shown his interest, by printing, on January 1, a large part of President Jackson's message to Congress, together with an editorial calling attention to its bearing upon the finance controversy. Further editorial comment, all of it favorable to the government of the United States, appeared on February 24, 28, and March 1, 1832.

<sup>9</sup> A. Gallatin, *Writings*, edited by Henry Adams (Philadelphia, 1879), II, 465-474.



Livingston, on the other hand, took the whole matter with the utmost seriousness. As Secretary of State, he sent out a questionnaire to the various states in order to obtain reliable data on the question of taxation. Against this procedure Cooper protested in his letter to the American people, written in Vévey, Switzerland, whither he had gone in September, and printed in the Philadelphia *National Gazette*. The letter was dated October 1, 1832, and was published two months later. It did not, however, as Lounsbury assumes, succeed in suppressing the information collected, although it may well have discouraged the project on the scale upon which it was intended. When Livingston arrived at Cherbourg in September, 1833, as United States Envoy to France, he apparently brought with him replies from Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri, and presented his notes and statistics to Lafayette. The latter, in turn, gave them, together with Gallatin's letter, to François de Corcelle, who based upon this information a long article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,<sup>10</sup> a document which may be considered the focus of the second phase of the debate. This augmentation of material in defense of the United States government seems to have concluded the polemic. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* published nothing further on the subject; the *Revue Britannique* maintained a complete silence, Saulnier having died in the interval; and the discussion dropped from the daily journals.<sup>11</sup>

Cooper returned to America in November of 1833, and the finance controversy became only one phase of his long-continued and vigorous campaign against the press of his own country. Twice he outlined his view of the debate in perspective,<sup>12</sup> but he contributed nothing directly to it after the publication of his Vévey letter.

### III

Saulnier's motives, when he wrote his first article, were wholly political and his point of view far from objective. Further, he wrote with almost no reliable information in hand. As Cooper

<sup>10</sup> 3rd ser. I, 561-581 (March 1, 1834).

<sup>11</sup> A search of the state dispatches from Envoy Rives to Secretary of State Livingston and from Envoy Livingston to Secretary McLane reveals no mention of the controversy.

<sup>12</sup> *Letter to his Countrymen* (New York, 1834), pp. 7-11; and *Sketches of Switzerland*, Part II (Philadelphia, 1836), I, 54-62.

described it later, the article is an argument and not a judgment, and its positions and deductions are liable to the imputation of coloring and of contradiction. His only reason for discussing the financial status of the United States is to draw a conclusion favorable to a monarchical France, and he is more interested in discrediting the reports of "men who have visited the United States" than in determining the facts.<sup>13</sup>

The bulk of his article is composed of persuasion based upon carefully selected statistics from such sources as the *Repository of Useful Knowledge* for 1830; for example, a table of the salaries of clerks and messengers of the Senate and House, which, he states, are much higher than those of analogous employees of France. Other tables are compiled from the *Directory of the Twenty-First Congress*, from Williams's *New York Annual Register*, and from unacknowledged sources. He admits that they are fragmentary and scattered, and that they may confuse the reader by their imperfections. On certain important points such as the salaries of ministers and of governors, he admits the superiority of the United States, he shows the American army to be higher paid than the French, and he generalizes on the cost of such public improvements as roads and of church establishments and schools. However unrelated and contradictory this mass of statistics and persuasion might prove to be, its sheer weight might have carried an element of conviction had it not been for certain of his conclusions. With the knowledge that Jefferson and Monroe had been in reduced financial circumstances after their retirement from the Presidency (and, as Cooper shows, only these two), he states that insolvency is the usual penalty for the high office because the President must maintain two official residences, one in Washington and one in the country, and, during the session, must give two great dinners each week, marked by far from republican simplicity. Harris ex-

<sup>13</sup> "Ceux qui réclament l'abaissement des salaires des fonctionnaires publics invoquent sans cesse l'exemple du gouvernement à bon marché des Etats-Unis. C'est là une phrase faite, un lieu-commun de notre éloquence parlementaire, et qui, comme beaucoup d'autres, repose entièrement sur une erreur. Ce qui est fort étrange, c'est que cette phrase a été jetée dans la circulation par des hommes qui ont visité les Etats-Unis, et qui entretiennent avec ceux de leurs citoyens qui viennent en Europe des relations journalières. Elle n'en annonce pas moins une ignorance complète de ce qui s'y passe; c'est qu'il nous sera facile de démontrer." *Revue Britannique* (June, 1831), p. 453.

cuses this mistake as a natural confusion—Saulnier could hardly be expected to know that the White House was in Washington but that Washington was still country—without apparently realizing that in so doing he undermines Saulnier's condemnation of the metropolitan magnificence of the life of a chief executive.

Lafayette laid special emphasis upon such obvious fallacies in forwarding the article to Cooper, and the *Letter to Gen. Lafayette* followed. Its tone is that of the bystander drawn unwillingly into the contest by his friendship for the implied object of the attack, Lafayette.

Cooper's authorities are much the same as those of Saulnier, Williams's *Register* and the *National Calendar*, but he takes current issues of both and adds data gleaned from his own experience as a property owner and tax-payer of the state of New York. He has, of course, little difficulty in refuting the error of the two White Houses, but he does far more than this. His tables and his conclusions bear little resemblance to those of Saulnier, a fact of which he is openly conscious; and he proceeds to a few reasons for the discrepancies. He shows that his opponent had included, in his summary of the budget of the current expenses of the United States, the annual payments on the debts accruing from the wars of the Revolution and of 1812, expenditures which could only continue for a few years longer and were obviously not current; and that he had listed under the head of taxes the revenue from the sale of public lands, thereby making an asset appear as a liability. With these two items so altered, the balance might well be subject to question, and the differences in the conclusions of the two men are no longer unaccountable.

Saulnier had already taken New York and Pennsylvania as representative states for his analysis. "As I am most familiar with the interests of the community to which I belong," says Cooper, "and as that community happens to be the largest and most important of any in the American Union, it will be the best example for our present object. By ascertaining the contribution of the citizen of New York to the Federal and State Governments, we shall not be far from a knowledge of that of most of his countrymen." By distinguishing between taxation and other forms of state revenue, the writer again emphasizes his earlier point that governmental

expenditures, or the salaries of officials and employees, are not sound measures of national prosperity. Because he is on such familiar ground, he is able to undermine most of his opponent's conclusions by a mere reëxamination of his own evidence.

To demonstrate his opponent's tendency to color, intentionally or not, his judgments for the sake of their ulterior application to French politics, was not difficult. A few examples suffice to show "the difficulty of understanding all the details of the habits and opinions of a foreign nation, and the danger of writing about them, without close personal inspection." "I am unfeignedly conscious," he concludes, "of the inability of a stranger to do justice to such an investigation. Were I not, the example of the writer in the *Revue Britannique* is still too vividly before my mind not to create doubts on such a subject." His apology for meddling in problems of French finance was a not ineffective two-edged sword.

Bernard, in his initial reply, gave the first full résumé of the situation in the two countries, although premising his statements by the admission that a true and comprehensive comparison of the resources and expenses of two such different countries as France and the United States would require far more research than he could devote to the problem. He also bases his figures on the *National Calendar* for 1830 and Roch's *Annuaire du Budget* for 1831, concluding that, although the actual tax burden in the two nations is somewhere nearly the same, the cost of collection in France is so great as to make the resulting expenses of the French government far exceed those of the United States.

In his first reply (his second article) to these two opponents Saulnier is somewhat more vehement, even though he reduces his case to a more nearly logical basis. He wishes, he says, to prove three points: (1) that public functionaries in the United States are better paid than those in France,—a condition which Cooper and Bernard not only admitted, but boasted; (2) that the federal and state expenses are higher,—the real crux of the matter; and (3) that the total cost of government is therefore greater. His supporting evidence, however, is largely a reiteration of his former statistics and an attack on his opponents which contains a greater proportion of sarcasm than of reason. On one new table he lays particular emphasis, stating that it is based on documents furnished

by "many honorable citizens of the United States" who have been aroused in favor of his cause.<sup>14</sup>

Saulnier's third and last article followed too soon for any intervening word from his opponents. It was prompted by the letter from Harris and was headed merely "Correspondence." Here, he says, are the facts with which he had promised to supplement his previous conjectures.<sup>15</sup> They proved, however, to be, as we have seen, little more than praise of himself. His boast also that Rives and Gallatin had privately expressed to him their agreement with his position proved later to have at most a very slight justification.

To these two articles and to Harris's letter, Cooper and Bernard replied in the *National*. Cooper again stated his reluctance at being drawn into the controversy and again gave as his reason the desire to defend the United States against misrepresentation. Basing most of his positive statements upon the situation in New York, he examined Saulnier's new statistics. Something about them seemed familiar, and he compared them carefully with those of Captain Hall, whose travels in America had recently appeared. This volume had been eagerly anticipated by Americans as the judgment of the most intelligent and best equipped Englishman who had yet essayed an analysis of their country. Their disappointment is reflected in the reviews which greeted its unsympathetic and misleading account, and Cooper himself had just answered it at length and anonymously.<sup>16</sup> The statistical errors of this author were therefore fresh in his mind, and he had little difficulty in undermining the expert testimony of the "many honorable Americans."

Bernard's concluding rebuttal in the *National* supplemented these letters of Cooper, again with a more comprehensive and less analytical view of the problem. He likewise demonstrated Saulnier's position to be shifting and his facts unreliable. This concluded the first stage in the debate.

<sup>14</sup> "Plusieurs citoyens honorables des Etats-Unis, qui veulent bien me savoir quelque gré des efforts que je fais pour débrouiller le chaos de leurs finances, m'ont fourni des documents authentiques sur la recette et la défense du plus grand nombre des républiques qui composent l'union. Le tableau qui suit, se rapport à l'année 1828." *Revue Britannique* (October, 1931), pp. 397-98.

<sup>15</sup> "J'avais annoncé que . . . lorsque je serai en mesure de substituer des faits à ce qui n'est encore qu'hypothèque dans mes articles antérieurs, que je devais de nouveau aborder cette question. *Ibid.* (November, 1831), p. 164.

<sup>16</sup> Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine*, XXXII, 297-311 (October, 1831).

## IV

Cooper's active part in the second stage of the debate was confined to his letter *To the American People*. This document was an attempt to correct the misrepresentations of the American press in a matter which had aroused his patriotic zeal. The attitude of the editor is made clear by the remark that he did not think the controversy likely to "yield any very satisfactory or pregnant results," but that he was printing the letter, which for the same reason he hoped would be widely copied, because of the popular interest already aroused in the subject and because of the prominence and earnest sincerity of the author.

The letter itself is the best summary which Cooper ever wrote of his own attitude toward the controversy. The paragraphs here omitted (about half) are chiefly occupied with details in support of the general features of the question as outlined in the following excerpts:<sup>17</sup>

A circular has latterly issued from the Department of State, requesting information of the different local authorities of the Union, concerning the amount of public expenditure, and with avowed reference to a controversy on the same subject, to which I have been a party. The object of this circular is to obtain an account of the town, village, county, city and state charges, in the country, together with the cost of religion, and that of maintaining the roads:—in short to procure a general summary of all the impositions on the citizen. It is very evident that such a report, made with candor and intelligence, must be productive of great public advantage, by furnishing the means of useful comparison, and that it will be an interesting fiscal document, which probably no other country possesses. But it is a great error to imagine that the returns to be made under this request of Mr. Secretary Livingston are to be received as the conclusive statement of the American side of the question, in the controversy to which he has alluded. The letters of Gen. Bernard and myself *were merely answers* to statements made in France, and publicly espoused by the French Ministry at the Tribune, as proving that the cost of government is greater in our republic than it is in their monarchy. Of course we were bound to reason on the proposition of our adversaries, and this proposition does not at all include the expenses of the cities, villages, arrondissements, cantons and communes of France. The ratio of contribution for France was ob-

<sup>17</sup> *National Gazette*, Philadelphia (Wednesday, December 5, 1832) XIII, 1, dated from Vévey, Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, October 1, 1832.

tained by simply dividing the amount of THE GENERAL BUDGET by the population of the country. In the article to which our answers were originally directed, nothing was said even of the expenses of the National Guard, though the service of our militia was studiously estimated and enormously exaggerated. The apology for this evidently unfair omission, was a pretense that the institution of the National Guard is temporary, and a pretty frank avowal that it was the intention of the existing powers to get rid of it as soon as possible.

The Budget of France, however, includes many heads of expenditure which are not contained either in our Federal Budget, or in that of any state. The cost of the clergy, for instance, is at the charge of the kingdom, as is that of a certain portion of the roads. On the other hand, there is no institution in France which resembles our state governments. A fair comparison, therefore, keeping in view the proposition of our opponents, required that there should be an intelligent separation of the different items of our own expenditure, in such a manner as to produce those only which had parallels in the case that had been made out for the other side of the question. This I endeavoured to do, keeping as close to official documents as my means would allow. Of the clergy nothing could be said, but what was conjectural; but for all the other items I had as good authorities as the case needed. The result is before the world. . . .

I regret to say that many Americans have given their opinions, here in Paris, against me, with very little reflection, and I might say in some instances, with very limited means for reflection, and generally under this misconception of the points in dispute. The irresponsible and untaxed traveller finds Paris, no doubt, a very agreeable residence. He has no fixed relations with society, and some of the class are sufficiently thoughtless to compare their own exemption from social duties here, with their permanent obligations at home. I have not the smallest doubt that I pay more than two hundred dollars a year to the *octroi* of Paris, but the mere frequenter of the restaurant knows nothing of all this. . . .

My agency in this dispute has been grossly misrepresented by some of our own countrymen. I appeared in it at the earnest request of Gen-Lafayette, and because I thought it would be a lasting stain upon the national character, should it be hereafter known that this friend in our dark days had made such an appeal for succour against the attacks of his enemies, and no American citizen could be found sufficiently regardless of the glitter of monarchy, or of personal care, to afford him what is due to the meanest criminal—the benefit of the truth. These are considerations which will have little weight with the double-dealer and parasite, but I cannot think that the healthful moral feeling of the United

States of America will repudiate a sentiment so just and natural. If I have said that too many Americans have betrayed compliancy and ignorance in this affair, I have pleasure in adding that there are noble exceptions. Mr. S. F. B. Morse, the President of the National Academy, Dr. Ashbel Smith of North Carolina, and Dr. Cook of Virginia, came forward in the most spirited manner to support me, and I mention their names with gratitude and respect. I may be permitted to express the wish that the French administration would be equally frank, and name *all* its American friends, that the country might thoroughly understand their true merits. But I have done with this transaction. A more fitting moment will arrive for publicly treating it. My present object will be accomplished by putting the nation on its guard.

## V

The controversy could be left at this point, therefore, were it not for the unexplained boast of Saulnier that Rives and Gallatin both implicitly sympathized with his views. As Rives was, like Lafayette, a personal friend of Cooper's, and had always expressed himself as in sympathy with him, Cooper was much perplexed and troubled by this statement and never found a satisfactory explanation of it.<sup>18</sup> With the publication of some documents not available to him, however, the problem has become somewhat more clear, even though perhaps not even yet entirely solved. Livingston's position was clear from the start; he felt it his duty, both as Secretary of State and as Envoy to France, to collect reliable data, and he turned his findings over to Lafayette for his use as his judgment and needs dictated. The motives of Harris are more obvious than they are laudable. He was open in his argument on Saulnier's side, apparently to conciliate himself, and probably his country, with the party then in power. Whether or not his opinions were dictated by his official position or were merely personal is the only real problem, and this involves his superior, Rives, rather than himself.

The paradoxical attitude of Rives is more difficult to understand. "I think," wrote Morse, "he has good American feeling in the main, and means well, although I cannot account for his permitting you to suffer in the Chambers (and the General)."<sup>19</sup> Although quoted by Périer in the Chamber and Saulnier in his article, something apparently prevented him from a public statement of his opinion.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Switzerland*, Part II, vol. I, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> *Corresp. of Cooper*, I, 296.



In a letter to Lafayette, dated from Versailles, May 23, 1832, he declares himself shocked at the use of his name and hopes that his friends will believe well of him until the opportunity of clearing himself presents itself.<sup>20</sup> Apparently this chance never offered and the appearance of Harris's letter remains unexplained. Further, Harris was appointed Chargé after Rives returned to America, where his opposition in the Senate might easily have prevented the appointment. The evidence points, therefore, pretty conclusively to a diplomatic silence, and perhaps even to an unexpressed sympathy with the French administration. When we recall that Rives was in process of successfully negotiating a treaty for the payment of the "spoilation claims," a thorn in French-American relations since 1803, this conclusion is strengthened. It would seem that he believed the favor of Louis Philippe and his ministers to be more important than a just understanding in France of the financial status of the United States.

This conclusion, which now still seems likely, was to Morse transparently clear after a year's close following of events. On March 5, 1833, an unsigned article appeared in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* which concluded an impassioned outline of the early events in the polemic with the words:

Mon. Saulnier was acknowledged by impartial readers of the controversy to be a *bêaten* man. . . . It was in a moment like this that Mr. Leavitt Harris makes his appearance on the scene, doubtless to sustain the cause of economy as desired by Gen. Lafayette, and to assist in the vindication of the economical policy of his own country. No such thing! Mr. Harris was bowing at the levees of Ministers, he was playing the great man as *ancien diplomate* and practicing at court probably in anticipation of this very appointment [as Chargé].

"Of the latter article," wrote Morse to Lafayette from New York on the day of its appearance,<sup>21</sup> "I am the author."

I could not but feel indignant, when I learned that Mr. Harris was nominated Chargé des Affaires to France, knowing as I do the course of that gentleman when I was in Paris, and felt it to be a duty I owed the country to lay the whole matter before them. I hope you will

<sup>20</sup> *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 3rd, ser., I, 562, note (March 1, 1832).

<sup>21</sup> MS. Morse papers, Library of Congress. Cf. his letter to Cooper, Feb. 28, 1833, in *Corresp. of Cooper*, I, 310-13.

find my statements correct, and yet, not having the documents before me, I was obliged to depend altogether on my memory, and I may have erred in some unimportant points. I am utterly at a loss to conceive how this appointment could have been made with Mr. Rives in the Senate, unless he supported it, and from opinion often expressed of Mr. Harris by Mr. Rives I cannot conceive it possible he opposed it. This appointment connected with events that occurred in Paris, such as the mention of Mr. Rives as authority against your statements by Mon. Périer in the Chamber of Deputies, &c., has excited suspicions in my mind that there has been some manoeuvring against you, my dear General, some sort of coalition between the reigning party in France, and our representatives at your court. To speak plainly my suspicions, matters seem to have taken this shape. Our government had claims against France. It would be an exceedingly popular point for the party in power to announce to the people that these claims are settled, and the Minister Extraordinary would also gain in popular estimation. Now to accomplish these ends, both our government and its minister might be willing to sacrifice something. The government of France, perceiving this state of things, were prepared to make the demand of some concession and to agree to a speedy settlement on certain conditions. What may these conditions be? Why these. Gen. Lafayette is perpetually annoying us by citing the example of the United States, he is a continual thorn in our sides; we cannot carry our system into operation if he remains unrefuted. The United States must therefore support us, give its influence on our side, connive at all our attempts to make the General and his party unpopular, and allow us to misstate, misrepresent and even occasionally to abuse the institutions of the United States with impunity; if you will agree to this, we will allow your claims immediately, and you will thus have the eclat of bringing the negotiations to a successful issue,—I am exceedingly reluctant to entertain suspicions of such men as Mr. Rives, so amiable and estimable in private life, or of our men in power, but with occurrences in Paris fresh in my memory, crowned by this last strange act of appointing to the station of Chargé des Affaires the very man who alone of all the Americans in Paris openly opposed your side of the question, I cannot escape from the conviction that there has been some intrigue of the kind I have suggested. I merely *suspect*, I know nothing positive, but supposing my suspicions correct, an easy explanation is given to some of the occurrences to which I have alluded. The quoting of Mr. Rives as an authority [against] you by Mons. Périer in the Chambers, the procrastination and reluctance of the former to have the *mistake*, as it was called, corrected, the sentiments broached from the same quarter unfavourable

to celebrating the 4th of July, that it might operate against you, the service rendered by Mr. Harris to the ministerial party by his letter to Mons. Delessert, and now his reward, to say nothing of the open and covert attacks against Cooper for having espoused your cause, all these, my dear General, would be the natural consequences of the intrigues I suppose to have existed, and I own that my charity is put to the stretch to account for all these strange acts on any other plan of interpretation.

The only exception which may now be taken to Morse's line of reasoning, here expressed so bluntly, is his assumption that all of these intrigues were deliberate and even somewhat malicious. He fails to take into consideration the shades of reasoning in the diplomatic mind which might have led Rives to exactly this course of conduct without descending to a deliberate plot with P rier against Lafayette as compensation for France's concession to the United States in the settlement of the claims. At least an informal interlocking of the two problems is, however, obvious.

Gallatin's letter to Lafayette, on the other hand, shows a sympathy with the position of the General and of Cooper in so far as he is willing to enter the controversy at all. He is not concerned, apparently, with Saulnier's quotation of his remark that the United States was perhaps the most heavily taxed nation after England. No doubt Cooper had him, as well as Rives and Harris, in mind when he complained of being "unsalaried and untrusted by my own government," and "opposed, in appearance at least, by its agents."<sup>22</sup> But Gallatin's absence in America, and his obvious feeling that the whole controversy was of little real importance, absolve him from any such charges as may be laid against Rives.

Cooper's involvement in the whole of this affair was entirely creditable. He entered the field against his will because his friend had asked him directly for a public expression of his opinion on a subject which affected the good name of the United States on foreign shores. The combined motives of friendship and patriotism were irresistible—either one would have been sufficient. In his major reply he preserved a tone of restraint and limited his discussion to those facts upon which he could be regarded as an authority of a sort. He defended America against verbal attack and refused to attack France,

<sup>22</sup> *Switzerland*, Part II, Vol. I., p. 62.

even at the cost of conclusiveness to his argument. He supplied such testimony as he could and left the debate to Lafayette and others. His later letters were devoted with even more diligence to errors of Saulnier and moves on the part of American authorities which he believed to be ill-advised. At the first opportunity he withdrew entirely from the discussion, although it was said at the time that he was quite ready to challenge that member of the Chamber who laconically remarked, "Mr. Cooper is well known in the world as a writer of Romance."

This series of letters may be regarded, therefore, as only one of Cooper's many defenses of American institutions abroad, most of which he made between the years 1828 and 1838. Bernard was as important to this particular controversy as was he, and the whole question of the French budget lay far outside his interests. His concern was with preventing the misrepresentation of the name, ideals, and institutions of his country, in Europe, through ignorance or malicious intent, for internal political purposes. In England he had found even more to rouse his vigorous protests, but in liberal France there was sufficient of the evil to demand reply. The cause of Cooper's undermining of his own popularity was the substitution of a sense of justice for a sense of tact.

It is a little difficult, on the other hand, to say definitely whether Lafayette was more interested in the debate as it related to the reduction of the French budget or as a defense of America. Both motives were strong in determining his action, and, as has been seen, he carried on the discussion long after the budget had been passed and after Cooper had left the field. In complete sympathy with Cooper, he saw a value in the exposition of American ideals and institutions in France which Cooper, Gallatin, and other participants did not recognize. He rightly feared the growing reactionary tendencies of Louis Philippe as mere preliminaries to another revolution which he did not live to see. To him Cooper was something more than a warm personal friend; he was a man with a pen which could be used in the cause of republicanism. The finance controversy, whatever other values it may have had, gave America an opportunity of being, through Lafayette, of service to France, as France, through him, had aided America.

# EMERSON AND MILTON

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## I

EMERSON'S criticisms of Milton, taken collectively, furnish an excellent body of illustrative material in the evaluation of Emerson as a critic. The same material is also illuminating for students of Milton.

Emerson himself acknowledges his indebtedness to Milton. "If I reckon up my debts by particulars to English books, how fast they reduce themselves to a few authors, and how conspicuous Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton become."<sup>1</sup> The American's interest in Milton was a life-long enthusiasm, as we see from his *Journals*, which contain numerous comments, quotations, and allusions throughout the series. Suggestive of how intimate his early enthusiasm for Milton was is the following autobiographical passage from the *Journals*,<sup>2</sup> written in his twenty-third year and evidently reminiscent of Milton's sonnet, "On His Being Arrived to the Age of Twenty-three":

My days run onward like the weaver's beam. They have no honor among men, they have no grandeur in the view of the invisible world. It is as if a net of meanness were drawn around aspiring men, through which their eyes are kept on mighty objects, but the subtle fence is forever interposed.

They also serve who only stand and wait.

Aye, but they must wait in a certain temper and in a certain equipment. They must wait, as the knight on the van of the embattled line, standing in the stirrups, his spear in rest, his steed foaming, ready for the career with the speed of a whirlwind. Am I the accomplished cavalier?

Edward Waldo Emerson, his son and editor of the *Journals*, testifies thrice, in his notes, to his father's interest in Milton.<sup>3</sup> Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his biography of Emerson, recognizes a strong

<sup>1</sup>Emerson's *Journals* (Boston, 1909), VIII, 494.

<sup>2</sup>*Journals*, II, 201.

<sup>3</sup>Emerson's *Complete Works* (Boston, 1883), I, 273; V, 324; XII, 458.

spiritual kinship between Emerson and Milton.<sup>4</sup> Quoting Emerson's passage on the inspirational value of Milton, Holmes finds Emerson himself preëminently comparable with Milton on this score. He extends the comparison into biographical analogy, noting the early theological difficulties of each with consequent abandonment of clerical office, and paralleling their composition of "tender and mellifluous threnodies" for "very dear objects of affection."

G. R. Elliott, in an article "On Emerson's 'Grace' and 'Self-Reliance,'"<sup>5</sup> calls attention to the fact that in Emerson's copy of Milton's prose works, all passages dealing with Milton's conception of the poet's life and mission are underscored, and surmises that in those early years when Emerson was struggling to achieve literary maturity and to formulate his message for the world, it was to Milton that he turned for guidance.

So much for biographical and autobiographical testimony to Emerson's interest. Perhaps a brief summary of Emerson's literary theory will help explain Milton's attraction for him. Certainly a marked harmony of their theories is evident. Norman Foerster's statement of it<sup>6</sup> is so well and concisely put that I venture to quote:

Emerson, unlike Lowell, was possessed of inner harmony—a neat union of the classical and the romantic. He was romantic, in that he sought nature for light, disparaged tradition and logical thought, and welcomed the renascence of wonder. His picture of man, however, is *general*, and not *idiosyncratic*. In general, he is a classicist. He believed in absolute criticism—comparison with "the supreme poem."

Art is the creation of beauty by man. Using things as symbols, the artist combines them in new forms to express his intuition of eternal beauty. All great art is organic (the outer depending on the inner), in two senses. 1. From the organism, the intuition itself, proceeds the appropriate form that expresses it. 2. And the intuition, or thing expressed, likewise proceeds from a reality beyond the artist's understanding. We say that the artist aims to express ideal beauty, but we mean that he lets it express itself through him. This ideal beauty is also ideal truth and goodness, which three are one. Latent in all men is this supreme unity, but completely realized in none. The arts, most of all

<sup>4</sup> O. W. Holmes, *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1885), pp. 76-77.

<sup>5</sup> *The New England Quarterly*, II, 93.

<sup>6</sup> Norman Foerster, *American Criticism* (Boston, 1928), pp. 61-67.

literature, inspire men, help men to realize their complete humanity. If a man ever attained this end, he would have no further use for the means, for works of art. In proportion as men really live—approximate that vital union of truth, goodness, and beauty—their need for art diminishes.

Most of these principles receive popular treatment in the essay on "The Poet," wherein Emerson makes the observation so significant in relation to his own poetic practice and in relation to his criticism of Milton, that it is not metres but metre-making arguments that produce poems. He emphasizes in this essay the function of the poet as "sayer," the prophet, who interprets and teaches.

It may also be well, for the sake of ready comparison, to summarize briefly Milton's poetic theory. Miss Langdon, in her discussion of Milton's æsthetics,<sup>7</sup> has presented probably the best treatment of this subject. Like Emerson, Milton emphasizes the *morale* as a necessary foundation of all great art. The Sixth Latin Elegy, for instance, to which Emerson twice refers, emphasizes the necessity that "he who shall sing of the gods and their descent unto men, must drink water out of a wooden bowl."<sup>8</sup> In Milton's opinion, as Miss Langdon points out, the highest art must be actuated by a high endeavor to perpetuate truth, and the proper subject-matter of poetry is truth, or goodness, which in both Emerson and Milton are practically identical. The idea and the form should be one; that is, creative art should be organic. Here, again, Milton and Emerson are agreed, but, in actual practice, Emerson tends to neglect only too often the plastic process necessary in the production of organic art.

In æsthetic *theory*, then, Milton and Emerson are of the same school. In actual critical *practice*, however, Emerson is somewhat careless.

According to Emerson's *theory* of poetry, the vital union of truth, goodness, and beauty which is so marked in the works of Milton would naturally arouse in Emerson genuine enthusiasm for the English poet. But when Emerson approaches Milton in a critical spirit, we find him overemphasizing the ethical element at the expense of technical appreciation.

<sup>7</sup> Ida Langdon, *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (New Haven, 1924).

<sup>8</sup> "The Poet," III, 29.

This interest of Emerson in Milton manifests itself in several ways. First, we discover a few traces of influence in Emerson's poetry. More important is the evidence inherent in the many quotations and allusions to Milton, scattered through Emerson's essays and *Journals*. But most valuable are his critical statements, embodied chiefly in the formal "Essay on Milton," but found at intervals throughout his essays and *Journals*.

## II

How does Emerson rank Milton among poets? In "Literary Ethics"<sup>9</sup> he says:

If you would know the power of character, see how much you would impoverish the world if you could take clean out of history the lives of Milton, Shakespeare, and Plato,—these three, and cause them not to be. See you not how much less the power of man would be? I console myself in the poverty of my thoughts, in the paucity of great men, in the malignity and dulness of the nations, by falling back on these sublime recollections, and seeing what the prolific soul could beget on actual nature;—seeing that Plato was, and Shakespeare, and Milton,—three irrefragable facts.

"Perhaps," he also writes,<sup>10</sup> "the human mind would be a gainer if all the secondary writers were lost,—say, in England, all but Shakespeare, Milton, and Bacon,—through the profounder study so drawn to those wonderful minds." In "Morals"<sup>11</sup> Emerson mentions "the high poets . . . Homer, Milton, Shakespeare." There are numerous other testimonies to the position to which Emerson would assign Milton.

When we turn to Emerson's criticism of Milton's poetry, we note at once Emerson's especial interest in the moral characteristics of this poetry. In the *Journals*<sup>12</sup> he writes: "I think the true poetry which mankind craves is that Moral Poem of which Jesus chanted to the ages stanzas so celestial, yet only stanzas. . . . Herbert is its lyricist, Milton, Marvell, Shakespeare, Orpheus, Hesiod, and the dramatists."

He remarks on "the secondary inspiration of Milton."<sup>13</sup> In "The Poet,"<sup>14</sup> he says: "Milton is too literary, and Homer too literal and

<sup>9</sup> *Works*, I, 161.

<sup>10</sup> *Works*, VII, 194.

<sup>11</sup> *Works*, VIII, 63.

<sup>12</sup> *Journals*, IV, 425.

<sup>13</sup> *Journals*, VII, 285.

<sup>14</sup> *Works*, III, 38.



historical." "Milton was too learned, though I hate to say it. It wrecked his originality. He was more indebted to the Hebrew than even to the Greek. Wordsworth is a more original poet than he. That seems the poets' garland."<sup>15</sup> "The first book tyrannizes over the second. Read Tasso, and you think of Homer; and Milton forces you to reflect how narrow are the limits of human invention. The *Paradise Lost* had never existed but for these precursors."<sup>16</sup> "Homer is the only true epic. Milton is to him what Michael Angelo is to Phidias."<sup>17</sup>

On Milton's idealization of man and on his inspirational qualities, Emerson has an elaborate discussion in the "Essay on Milton."<sup>18</sup> Perhaps this emphasis on Milton's power to inspire derives in part from Emerson's acquaintance with W. E. Channing's essay, "Remarks on the Character and Writings of John Milton," which was published in 1826, and which is hyperbolically eloquent on this same topic. "The idea," says Emerson, "of a purer existence than any he saw around him to be realized in the life and conversation of men, inspired every act and every writing of John Milton." Here we read between the lines the sympathy of Emerson with the classicism of Milton, his interest, not in romantic individualities which are virtually personifications of unrestrained whims and idiosyncrasies, but in the collective idea of man, an idealized type, more permanent and real than any one human incarnation of man could be.

Anticipating Saurat, Emerson stresses the autobiographical elements in Milton's poetry. But this material I shall reserve for my discussion of the individual works.

Emerson, who himself usually advocates for the poet free and unhampered utterance, an utterance which naturally does not always make for the best finish of workmanship, nevertheless has much to say of the skilful artistry of Milton.

Milton would write it [a given piece] off in unpremeditated manuscript and lay it up as a block to be hewn and carved and polished. But Milton would as soon have hanged himself as published it as it stood.<sup>19</sup>

How would Milton curl his lips at such slipshod newspaper style [as

<sup>15</sup> *Journals*, III, 328.

<sup>16</sup> *Works*, VIII, 181.

<sup>17</sup> *Journals*, IV, 36.

<sup>18</sup> *Works*, XII, 253.

<sup>19</sup> *Journals*, II, 236.

Wordsworth's]. Many of his [Wordsworth's] poems, as for example the *Rylstone Doe*, might be all improvised. Nothing of Milton . . . could be.<sup>20</sup>

"Angelo, Dante, Milton, Swedenborg, Pythagoras, Paracelsus were men of great robustness; they built, not only with energy but symmetry, and their work could be called architecture."<sup>21</sup> "In Boston I visited the gallery of sculpture and saw the Day and Night of Michael Angelo. I find in Michael more *abandon* than in Milton."<sup>22</sup>

A long section in the "Essay on Milton" deals with Milton's mastery of language, "not imitating but rivalling Shakespeare." "He made language capable," says Emerson, "of an unknown majesty, and bent it to express every trait of beauty, every shade of thought."

As for Emerson's general attitude toward Milton's prose, the following criticism from the "Essay on Milton" is suggestive:

These tracts are remarkable compositions. They are earnest, spiritual, rich with allusion, sparkling with innumerable ornaments; but as writings designed to gain a practical point, they fail. They are not effective, like similar productions of Swift and Burke; or, like what became also controversial tracts, several masterly speeches in the history of the American Congress. Milton seldom deigns a glance at the obstacles that are to be overcome before that which he proposes can be done. There is no attempt to conciliate,—no mediate, no preparatory course suggested,—but, peremptory and impassioned, he demands, on the instant, an ideal justice. Therein they are discriminated from modern writings, in which a regard to the actual is all but universal.

Their rhetorical excellence must also suffer some deduction. They have no perfectness. These writings are wonderful for the truth, the learning, the subtilty and pomp of the language; but the whole is sacrificed to the particular. Eager to do fit justice to each thought, he does not subordinate it so as to project the main argument. He writes whilst he is heated; the piece shows all the rambles and resources of indignation, but he has never *integrated* the parts of the argument in his mind. The reader is fatigued with admiration, but is not yet master of the subject.

The greater part of Emerson's formal essay on Milton is devoted to an analysis, chiefly eulogistic, of Milton's character as

<sup>20</sup> *Works*, XII, 365.

<sup>21</sup> *Journals*, VI, 318.

<sup>22</sup> *Journals*, V, 307.

shown in his works and life. As the essay is easily accessible, I only call attention to Emerson's emphasis in this discussion on the *morale*, which, he says, was the foundation of Milton's character and writings, his emphasis on Milton's spiritual humility and idealism; and his emphasis on his all-possessing love of liberty in all its aspects.

### III

Emerson's criticism of *Paradise Lost* is, with the exception of the material in the "Essay on Milton," rather fragmentary in character, but interesting. "The Puritans," he says,<sup>23</sup> "had done their duty to literature when they bequeathed it the *Paradise Lost*." Rather puzzling is his comment: "There is nothing in Wordsworth so vicious in sentiment as Milton's account of God's chariot, etc., standing harnessed for great days. We republicans cannot relish Watts' or Milton's royal imagery."<sup>24</sup> The context offers no assistance in the interpretation of this passage. Is Emerson's objection to this imagery of political, theological, or literary origin?

More intelligibly he remarks, "For the first time since many ages, the invocations of the Eternal Spirit in the commencement of his books are not poetic forms, but are thoughts, and so are still read with delight."<sup>25</sup> Here we note the penetrating insight by which Emerson was capable at times, in his appreciation of Milton, of transcending the conventional and giving something fresh and personal. This is Emerson the Transcendentalist speaking, who recognizes in Milton a kindred idealist who had outgrown mere forms and conventions of poetry and had quickened a convention in the traditional epic form into genuine activity and function, and approving the sentiment of Shakespeare's Claudius had dispensed with mere words "that never to heaven go," and breathed in his invocation all the fervor which animated the first writers of epics. One is pleased to find that here at least Milton is not, for Emerson, "too literary," a mere imitator, but has, as Emerson recognizes, quaffed from the very source of the fountain of the Muses.

Emerson's conception, furthermore, of Milton's attitude toward Eve, and so toward woman in general, is hardly the conventional one. "We men," he says,<sup>26</sup> "have no right to say it, but the omni-

<sup>23</sup> *Journals*, I, 307.

<sup>24</sup> *Journals*, III, 329.

<sup>25</sup> "Essay on Milton."

<sup>26</sup> *Works*, XI, 413.

potence of Eve is in humility. The instincts of mankind have drawn the virgin Mother—

Created beings in all lowliness  
Surpassing, as in height above them all.<sup>27</sup>

This is the Divine Person whom Dante and Milton saw in vision."

But it is with reference to the presence of Milton himself in the epic that Emerson grows most enthusiastic.<sup>28</sup> He first eulogized the character of Milton, recognizing his fitness to undertake such an epic.

Milton's sublimest song [he proceeds] bursting into heaven with its peals of melodious thunder, is the voice of Milton still. Indeed, throughout his poems, one may see, under a thin veil, the opinions, the feelings, even the incidents of the poet's life, still reappearing . . . The most affecting passages in *Paradise Lost* are personal allusions; and when we are fairly in Eden, Adam and Milton are often difficult to be separated. . . . The genius and office of Milton were . . . to ascend . . . to a higher insight and more lively delineation of the heroic life of man. This was his poem; whereof all his indignant pamphlets and all his soaring verses are only single cantos or detached stanzas. It was plainly needful that his poetry should be a version of his own life, in order to give weight and solemnity to his thoughts.

Here Emerson extols the didactic purpose of the epic, which, he says, places it above the works of Shakespeare. "His own conviction it is which gives such authority to his strain. Its reality is its force. If out of the heart it came, to the heart it must go. What schools and epochs of common rhymes," he concludes, "would it need to make a counterbalance to the severe oracles of his verse."

Such is Emerson's criticism of *Paradise Lost*. True to his individuality, he is interested, above all, in the personality and character of Milton himself as revealed in the epic. This same predominant interest we shall perceive as we proceed with Emerson's opinions on Milton's other writings.

Emerson's semi-critical statements about *Comus* seem to indicate almost an infatuation with the poem. Its appeal is to his moral, more than to his æsthetic, nature. E. W. Emerson, in a note to the "Essay on Milton," testifies:

<sup>27</sup> E. W. Emerson in a note on this passage erroneously attributes these lines to Milton.

<sup>28</sup> "Essay on Milton."

From his early student days, Emerson honored and loved Milton. He often praised the majesty and courageous rectitude of his prose, but he took delight in *Comus* and *Lycidas*.

In the "Essay on Milton" Emerson writes: "This native honor never forsook him. It is the spirit of *Comus*, the loftiest praise of chastity that is in any language." In the *Journals* he says:<sup>29</sup> "The Puritans had done their duty to literature when they bequeathed it the *Paradise Lost* and *Comus*." In a letter to Miss Elizabeth Tucker, he advises:<sup>30</sup> "For poetry read Milton. If the *Paradise Lost* tires you, it is so stately, try the Minor Poems. *Comus*, if the mythology does not make it sound strange, is a beautiful poem and makes one holy to read it." Again in the *Journals* he says:<sup>31</sup> "None that can understand Milton's *Comus* can read it without warming to the holy emotions it panegyricizes. . . . I would have my pen so guided as was Milton's when a deep and enthusiastic love of goodness and of God dedicated the *Comus* to the bard."

It is not strange, but natural, that to one like Emerson, the very kernel of whose theory of art was the divine spark of an ethical idealism, a poem so perfectly embodying this theory should have made an extraordinary appeal. There is, naturally, then, no poem of Milton's for which Emerson is more nearly whole-souled in his expressions of admiration.

Emerson was so familiar with "Lycidas," that without having made any conscious attempt to memorize it, he found that by frequent reading of it, he had it, with the exception of three lines, by heart. Says E. W. Emerson, in a note:<sup>32</sup>

From his early student days, Emerson . . . took delight in . . . *Lycidas*. He used to tell how, in his youth, confined to his berth in a small schooner on a stormy voyage to Florida, he, little by little, recollected all of *Lycidas* but three lines. He had not known that it lay there in his memory ready for his solace.

Here somebody, either father or son, has suffered a lapse of memory, as R. W. Emerson himself records the incident in his *Journals*,<sup>33</sup> not on a Floridian voyage, but on the 1833 voyage to Europe. This mistake, however, is beside the point; the passage is eloquent as to

<sup>29</sup> *Journals*, I, 307.

<sup>30</sup> *Journals*, II, 462.

<sup>31</sup> *Journals*, I, 345, 364.

<sup>32</sup> "Essay on Milton."

<sup>33</sup> *Journals*, III, 3.

Emerson's admiration for "Lycidas." "I remembered up nearly the whole of *Lycidas*, clause by clause, here a verse and there a word, as Isis in the fable the broken body of Osiris."

In a section of the *Journals*<sup>34</sup> written on the same voyage Emerson notes:

I comforted myself at midnight with *Lycidas*. What marble beauty in that classic pastoral. I should like well to see an analysis of the pleasure it gives. That were criticism for the gods.

Elsewhere in the *Journals*<sup>35</sup> he writes, "I maintained that the *Lycidas* was a copy from the poet's mind printed out in the book, notwithstanding all the mechanical difficulties, as clear and wild as it had shown at first in the sky of his own thought." "Classic poetry," he admits,<sup>36</sup> "is very cold, but the omnipotence of the muse is in *Lycidas*."

These bits of criticism of "Lycidas" are for several reasons interesting. They seem to mingle, perhaps inseparably, conventional and sincere expression of Emerson's attitude toward the classic tradition in English literature. He speaks of "Lycidas's" *marble* beauty and feels called upon to say that *although* "classic poetry is very cold," yet "the omnipotence of the muse is in *Lycidas*." Quite conventional so far; any romanticist might have said as much. But Emerson, in his enthusiasm for this pastoral, scarcely a romantic type, has gone further. He ungrudgingly eulogizes it, "An analysis of the pleasure it gives were criticism for the gods!" This is no romanticist, but Emerson the classicist speaking. "I maintained that the *Lycidas* was a copy from the poet's mind printed out in the book, notwithstanding mechanical difficulties, as clear and wild as it had shown at first in the sky of his own thought." Here is a clear statement of Emerson's theory of organic growth. The quotation is from the *Journals* for 1835, one year before Emerson's ardent expression of his Neo-Platonism in *Nature*. Unlike Poe, Emerson would never have endorsed a mechanical philosophy of composition. In brief, his theory of organic expression is this:

Fact and poem alike spring from the creative spirit, and the poet, as the romantic critics like to say, repeats in the finite the creative

<sup>34</sup> *Journals*, III, 19.

<sup>36</sup> *Journals*, III, 371.

<sup>35</sup> *Journals*, IX, 449.

process of the Infinite Creator, and is the agent of that Creator. So long as he is a faithful agent and reports truly his high message, his verse is necessary and universal. Intuition and expression alike are dictated by that supreme Life or Spirit, and so are organic in the profoundest sense. Spirit expresses itself in the poet's intuition, and the poet's intuition expresses itself in the words and music of the poem. Spirit gives the divine hint to the poet, and the poet passes it on to all men, using a form that is excellent in proportion as it is determined by the hint itself, not arbitrarily devised by the poet.<sup>37</sup>

In "Lycidas," then, it is this distinctly classical characteristic of organic growth that Milton so enthusiastically approves.

In his essay on Milton, Emerson says of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" that they "are but a finer autobiography of his youthful fancies at Harefield." It is evident that Emerson recognized in the two poems not fundamental opposition of personality but complementary moods of one individual; namely, Milton himself.

In the same essay he recognizes the autobiographical qualities of *Samson Agonistes*. He says: "The *Samson Agonistes* is too broad an expression of his private griefs to be mistaken, and is a version of the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*."<sup>38</sup> This comparison of the drama and the divorce tract is apparently original with Emerson; I do not find it elsewhere. Granting that emphasis on the autobiographical elements in Milton has undoubtedly been excessive, yet Emerson's comparison of the two works seems plausible. *Samson*, Emerson would have us believe, is a representation of Milton himself, old and blind. His marriage has proved no union of kindred souls, no spiritual wedding such as alone Milton could approve, and was such a marriage as Milton himself had experienced and from which he had received the stimulus to write his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*.

Less important bits of criticism, allusion, and quotation indicate Emerson's interest in others of Milton's poems, including *Paradise Regained*, the sonnets, the "Vacation Exercise," the Italian sonnets, and the Latin epigrams and elegies.

Emerson's attention to Milton's prose is devoted chiefly to the discussion of the prose *in toto*, rather than to criticism of individual

<sup>37</sup> Norman Foerster, *American Criticism*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>38</sup> *Works*, XII, 275.

works. Most of the scanty individual criticisms are quite conventional. I must call attention, however, to his reaction to the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. Emerson criticizes Milton's tract for "magnifying the exception into a rule, dwarfing the world into an exception."<sup>39</sup> He further recognizes the relation between this tract and *Samson Agonistes*, as I have indicated above. In the "Essay on Milton" he further says:

Of his prose in general, not the style alone but the argument also is poetic; according to Lord Bacon's definition of poetry, following that of Aristotle, "Poetry, not finding the actual world exactly conformed to its idea of good and fair, seeks to accommodate the shows of things to the desires of the mind, and to create an ideal world better than the world of experience." Such certainly is the explanation of Milton's tracts. Such is the apology to be entered for the plea for freedom of divorce; an essay, which, from the first, until now, has brought a degree of obloquy on his name. It was a sally of the extravagant spirit of the time, overjoyed, as in the French Revolution, with the sudden victories it had gained, and eager to carry on the standard of truth to new heights. It is to be regarded as a poem on one of the griefs of man's condition; namely, unfit marriage. And as many poems have been written upon unfit society, commending solitude, yet have not been proceeded against, though their end was hostile to the state; so should this receive that charity which an angelic soul, suffering more keenly than others from the unavoidable evils of human life, is entitled to.

Again we hear that apparently un-Emersonian note of depreciation of this tract of Milton's on domestic liberty, which would seem to harmonize so well with Emerson's own ideas on liberty. He feels that he must *apologize* for the tract on the ground that Milton's idealistic fanaticism has caused him to voice that which is impractical. But, then, it is not uncommon for Emerson to recoil from the ultimate consequences of his own thinking.

#### IV

In view of the great mass of Miltonic material which one finds in Emerson's prose, it is somewhat surprising to find so few Miltonic echoes in Emerson's poetry itself. In theory, Milton and Emerson are well agreed in their conceptions of poetry; in actual practice, Emerson pays far too little attention to plastic formulation of his

<sup>39</sup> *Works*, VII, 215.



poetic intuitions; he is too heedless of meters, of the requirements of rime. Yet in the poetry of both we find abundant illustration of their belief in the triple nature of poetry, with its truth, goodness, and beauty. Undoubtedly, in his conception of poetry and its mission, Emerson is much indebted to Milton.

"Uriel"<sup>40</sup> derives its title from *Paradise Lost*. Says E. W. Emerson in a note:<sup>41</sup> "From boyhood Emerson was familiar with *Paradise Lost*, and Uriel, the bright archangel of the sun, would best see the vast orbits, the returns and compensations, the harmony and utter order of the Universe,—God in all." Lines 41 and 42 of the poem read:

Or by knowledge grown too bright  
To hit the nerve of feebler sight.

Compare lines 13 and 14 of "Il Penseroso":

Whose saintly visage is too bright  
To hit the sense of human sight.

The poem does not, further than this, show any Miltonic influence.

In "The Humble-Bee"<sup>42</sup> we are reminded perhaps of Satan's aerial voyage through Chaos toward the end of the second book of *Paradise Lost*, in the following lines in which Emerson addresses the humble bee as

Sailor of the atmosphere;  
Swimmer through the waves of air;  
Voyager of light and noon.

Here the use of nautical terminology in description of an aerial journey suggests a *possible* influence.

"Grace"<sup>43</sup> is perhaps indebted to Milton. It was written, undated, on the inside front cover of the first volume of his copy of *Milton's Prose Works, A Selection* [Boston, 1826]. G. R. Elliott, in a recent article,<sup>44</sup> attributes the chief inspiration of the poem to Milton.

Wordsworth and Milton acted as two great and quite contrary influences in Emerson's maturing years. Wordsworth's "originality" was midwife to his doctrine of transcendent self-trust. Milton kept him in

<sup>40</sup> *Works*, IX, 13.

<sup>42</sup> *Works*, IX, 38.

<sup>41</sup> *Works*, IX, 408.

<sup>43</sup> *Works*, IX, 359.

<sup>44</sup> "On Emerson's 'Grace' and 'Self-Reliance,'" *The New England Quarterly*, II, 93.

vital contact with the truth of tradition and, over against Wordsworthian egotism, impressed him freshly with the profound meaning of the ancient doctrine of humility. Emerson was critical, though alas not thoroughly critical, of Romantic spiritual pride. In his essay on Milton his claim that "no man in these later ages, and few men ever, possessed so great a conception of the manly character" culminates in the thought of Milton's religious humility: "the fact that true greatness is a perfect humility is a revelation of Christianity which Milton well understood."

Hence, I believe that the extraneous factor, in so far as there was any, that inspired the poem *Grace* was Milton. The doctrines of humility and grace go hand in hand, of course through his writings and particularly the treatise *On Christian Doctrine*, the rediscovery and translation of which in the 1820's provided an acknowledged impetus for Emerson's essay on him. The formal movement and imagery of *Grace*, so exceptional in Emerson's verse, are reminiscent of the Miltonic or at least the seventeenth-century style. Milton's sonnet *On Being Arrived to the Age of Twenty-three* comes to my mind when I read *Grace*.

## V

Emerson's criticism of Milton, as I have shown, tends to emphasize unduly the ethical and didactic excellences in Milton, and to neglect a technical examination of the stylistic features which contribute essentially to the greatness of Milton's poetry. Granted that in the "Essay on Milton" itself Emerson is interested primarily in Milton the man (and certainly in so brief an essay one must narrow his topic), yet in the other fragmentary critical remarks which I have collected, we note the same overbalance in favor of the ethical and didactic. In a few instances, it is true, Emerson does touch upon matters of technique, and in so unconventional a manner as to suggest that his rather narrow critical approach to Milton is due not so much to lack of critical acumen as to his fundamental ethical tendency. For instance, quite unconventional and refreshing is his insight into Milton's true attitude toward the position of women in *Paradise Lost*, and his appreciation of the genuineness of the invocations in the same poem. Yet, in his treatment of this poem, he devotes most space to a discussion of the autobiographical element and the ethical fitness of Milton to write such a poem. Indeed, Emerson specifically states that his interest in Milton is primarily ethical. "I think the true poetry which mankind craves is that moral Poem of which Jesus chanted to the ages stanzas so celestial. . . . Milton is its

lyrist. . . .<sup>45</sup> And again, "This clear *morale* in Plutarch was his genius. It is the foundation of genius in Milton."<sup>46</sup>

Because of their striking spiritual kinship, the one a Puritan and the other a child of Puritanism in whom the *morale* of the old Puritanism without its theology had sturdily survived, probably Emerson's criticism of no other one poet yields for us material so richly illustrative of his own literary prepossessions.

<sup>45</sup> *Journals*, IV (1838), 425.

<sup>46</sup> *Journals*, X (1870), 331.

## NOTES ON THE READING OF THE OLD SOUTH

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THIS brief paper should be but the beginning of a larger investigation in an alluring field. I have turned thousands of dusty pages of Richmond newspapers of the first half of the nineteenth century, and have examined nearly all the biographical material of the period housed in the Virginia State Library. I added considerable reading of the Georgiana and of the ante-bellum newspapers in the Washington Memorial Library of Macon, and examined also the extensive Kentuckiana in the Louisville Public Library, the Virginiana and the Southern biographical material at the College of William and Mary, another collection at the University of Richmond, and lastly devoted a month's holiday to the Confederate biographical shelves and the Southern literary reviews at the Widener Library of Harvard. For complete satisfaction one should explore state collections in Southern capitals other than Richmond, materials in the libraries of older cities, in academic centers, and, in fact, all personal and biographical records in Confederate and border states which reflect in any way the literary tastes of the old South. The notes I offer are a by-product of a study\* of what the South really knew of Walter Scott, long accredited its most popular writer. Desultory as results in this paper may seem, they may increase interest in a subject which I commend, however, as abundantly compensating. Exhaustive research may eventuate in the writing of a new chapter in the literary relationships of the North and the South.

Students have long been familiar with Southern literary limitations as seen from north of the border. Apparently they have not realized that the South was critical of its literary inhibitions, that it even groaned against the bondage of Northern publishers. In any case only the slightest attention has been paid to the Southerner's point of view on his limitations before the Civil War. Meanwhile

\* "Sir Walter Scott and his Literary Rivals in the Old South," *American Literature*, II, 256-276 (November, 1930).

generalizations in regard to scanty opportunities in the South for literary development continue to appear.<sup>1</sup>

Recently Bliss Perry has noted the loss the intellectual life of America sustained because of the South's absorption in politics, motivated especially to "prop up a doomed economic and social system."<sup>2</sup> Ex-Senator Bruce again reminds us of the "abnormal importance that the peculiar structure of Southern society gave to public eloquence."<sup>3</sup> But the situation had its contemporary critics. Addressing a literary society at Washington College (now Washington and Lee University), John R. Thompson, a leading editor, called the "passion for literary distinction detrimental to the letters and arts."<sup>4</sup> In the same year, 1852, Governor Gilmer of Georgia, speaking before the alumni of Franklin College (later the State University), expressed similar views.<sup>5</sup> Causes of literary backwardness were explained also on other grounds. The South lacked the "stimulus . . . due to and derivable from the attrition of numerous minds in active competition," even—and the analysis is acute—to "the very good nature of a Southern audience," which rendered it uncritical.<sup>6</sup> This student of literary conditions feared that his section, absorbed in agriculture, was inevitably doomed to the scanty literary output of "all communities so exclusively employed," unless relief should come through a great center, "highly endowed persons," and publishing houses in their midst.<sup>7</sup> A bolder critic attributed the scantiness of all literature (except forensic) to the self-complacency of conservative amateurs, "poets and philosophers," who, fancying themselves comparable to Dr. Johnson's club, were "unwilling to recognize the claims of a professional writer lest in so doing they should disparage their own authority."<sup>8</sup> Since all these opinions date from the 1850's they represent criticism upon a civilization approaching its zenith.

<sup>1</sup> For example, see Montrose J. Moses, *Literature in the South*; E. S. Nadal, *A Virginia Village and Other Papers*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *The American Mind*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *John Randolph of Roanoke*, II, 436.

<sup>4</sup> See the address quoted in *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XIX, 290.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 513.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 320-321.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 319-320; see also *The Richmond Enquirer*, July 18, 1837, for an interesting comment on Southern history in a commencement address at William and Mary.

<sup>8</sup> *Russell's Magazine*, III, 197.

Loud was the outcry of the bondage to Northern publishers, and spirited the denunciations of "cheap literature" as their output. Keenly enough the South recognized itself as a pawn in the struggle for eminence among the publishers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The last became its favorite book mart, a choice important in the history of the Lippincotts, who lost heavily because of Southern debts uncollectable after 1861.<sup>9</sup> Competition in the reprinting of English novels, definitely begun in 1820,<sup>10</sup> was commented on at length in *The Southern Literary Messenger* in 1843:<sup>11</sup> "‘Libraries’ sprang up, volumes of fiction in a series, in part good material, filched from British authors without compensation, but interspersed with very inferior publications." A protest rang also from a writer in *The Southern Quarterly Review*, in a notice of Ainsworth's *Chrichton*, one of the Harper Pocket Series of Select Novels, but not included in the "class of cheap literature" described as having "corrupted and vitiated the morals of the public."<sup>12</sup> A dozen years later a reviewer condemned "cheap literature" as an "unbounded field for licentiousness, conducive to superficiality and mental sloth."

Readers must have fallen eagerly on this poor stuff, according to a critic in 1855: "Every blacksmith and every tailor has his own book." (Of course he refers only to white artisans, so far as his own section is concerned.) "The almost universal ability to read and the consequent love of reading have developed in this nation especially an immense middle class of ordinary readers of average intelligence. The great middle class is composed four-fifths of women, in as much as the hard-worked men of the day have little leisure and less taste for anything beyond the counting-room. . . . But flat insipidity is not tolerated even by the middle class," and here the writer strikes furiously, but intelligently, at Fanny Fern's *Ruth Hall*. Another reviewer complained with unconscious humor, that the multiplied readers of his day were now "on the same footing" with him, and no longer needed him to "prepare the public mind for a novel."

<sup>9</sup> J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books, and Publishers*, p. 384.

<sup>10</sup> Earl L. Bradsher, *Matthew Carey: A Study in American Literature*, p. 86.

<sup>11</sup> IX, pp. 3; 108.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, X (1846), 249.

Meanwhile, as the years sped on to the outbreak of hostilities, the South resented more bitterly that it had only booksellers and printers, not a single publisher. In view of this fact, the bold claim of a Confederate publishing house in Columbia, South Carolina, that it had issued "an amount of literature which even in the palmiest days of peace would swamp any but the largest establishment in the country," exaggerated as it may be, becomes as pathetic as it is astonishing.

To track faithfully the streams of books flowing from Northern sources into the haven of Southern bookshops is a challenging task, of which this paper attempts the merest beginning. In considering the influx of books, one should remember also the importations directly from London, which evidently continued almost up to the War. These took their place beside the old calf-bound volumes of the Greek and Latin authors which abounded in the fine libraries of the great Southern establishments. Whether the text-books, however, came chiefly from England or from Northern publishers I am uncertain. Advertisements of college classics were common, even of the rarer authors—Strabo, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus—and long lists of works on law, medicine, and theology abounded.

Modern foreign literature was represented not only by British periodicals, but by Goethe, Schiller, Guizot, Michelet, while the earlier favorites, Bossuet, Racine, de Staël, and especially Montaigne, were still being read. English authors advertised for sale at different times included (in 1859, for instance) the ten dollar folio of Chaucer's *Works and Life*; Shakespeare, of course; Fox's *Book of Martyrs*; Milton; Bunyan; Walton; Dryden; and the antiquarian Anthony à Wood. The eighteenth-century list is long: *The Tatler*; *The Spectator*; Pope; Swift; Johnson; Goldsmith; Gibbon; Hume; Chesterfield, for whom Virginia had named a county in 1748; Richardson; Fielding; Smollett; Sterne. Poets to be purchased were Macpherson, whose *Ossian* popularized Malvina, a name still living in the South; Thomson; Gray; Collins; Cowper; Burns; Beattie; Akenside; Crabbe; Scott; Byron; Moore; Wordsworth; Shelley; Keats. Hallam; Lamb; and Hannah More may also be mentioned. The South could purchase in its own book shops Jane Austen; Maria Edgeworth; Fanny Burney; Miss Mitford; Scott (in abundance); George Eliot; Dickens; Bulwer; and Thackeray. Ameri-

can authors from Bryant and Longfellow to the most ephemeral penny-a-liners were accessible.

We should not forget the distinctly religious and theological reading of the section. It is so thoroughly associated with a conventionally devout aristocracy, worshiping, for instance, in the high-backed pews of lovely old Bruton Parish in Williamsburg, in St. Michael's in Charleston, or in other fashionable churches, that one forgets the great members of ante-bellum Southerners whose rural piety, whether fostered by Prayer-Book, Westminster Confession, or by the New Testament alone, was as marked as that of contemporary New Englanders. Thus, William Cabell Bruce, a native of Charlotte County, Virginia, reminds us that "south-side Virginia . . . under the influence of Presbyterian missionaries became one of the strongholds in America of the Presbyterianism which in Scotland was so partial to *Pilgrim's Progress*."<sup>13</sup> In the '30's, '40's, and '50's in particular, appeared long lists of theological works in the Richmond, the Charleston, and the Macon papers, which, no doubt, could be paralleled in many other journals of their class. Forbidding as these books may seem today, they were doubtless a boon to Sabbatarians of all sects, especially, no doubt, to Presbyterians, who on the Lord's Day eschewed all reading matter of a non-religious character, as strictly as did their cousins in Glasgow or Aberdeen. Some especially devout persons distrusted fiction even on week days, Scott's romances probably excepted. (A Virginia woman born so late as 1862, and reared by Presbyterians near Staunton, read the Waverley novels openly, but *David Copperfield* secretly on drives from the plantation to the city.)

Occasionally a moral enthusiast expressed himself vigorously against what he considered the degrading tendencies of fiction. A Macon contributor to *The Southern Quarterly Review* of 1853 was aghast at "good Christians selling Dumas and Reynolds and Paul de Kock—very good Christians they are. They have fierce contests between professing Christian publishers as to which should have the exalted privilege of flooding the markets with the immoralities of Eugene Sue."<sup>14</sup> I have not learned the religious affiliations of this stern moralist. He might easily have been of any sect. That members of all denominations in the South were wont to live and

<sup>13</sup> *John Randolph of Roanoke*, I, 62.

<sup>14</sup> IX, 17.



die in the odor of sanctity one must believe who reads the remarkable newspaper obituaries, which depict Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists as alike heavenly-minded in life, fervidly pious in the hour of death.

So vividly do the newspapers bring the life of the old South before us that one lingers thus to reconstruct it from obituary, or marriage notice, as well as from the advertisements of dry goods shipments just received from a sailing packet, and from lists of miscellaneous wares in the book shops of a flourishing metropolis, or of the straggling little city which was more apt to be the state capital. The book shops were by no means severely bookish, since musical compositions, vocal and instrumental (pianos were conveniently at hand) signalized another art which, however, flourished more enduringly in plantation cabin than in the drawing-room. One's imagination plays around a book shop in broad-streeted Macon, which carried not only classical, musical, law, and theological works but fine cutlery, fancy articles, music, prints, picture frames and "every article usually called for in a book store." This might be lamp oil or garden seed.<sup>15</sup> It is curious to speculate how long books remained on the shelves in this or other Southern book shops. Advertisements of a new shipment of books sometimes ran from one month to six, becoming as stereotyped as the dealer's name. Seasonal displays seem unimportant till the sale of annuals in the '30's. Growing prosperity of readers may be indicated by the pre- and post-Christmas sales beginning in the '50's. A specialized interest might increase the sales of certain books at any time. Thus the approach of the Civil War gave great vogue to books dealing with military tactics, ironically enough the work of the enemy just beyond the gates.

On the whole, I believe the scantiness of books in the South and the consequent lack of reading have been over-emphasized. The traditional view will probably die slowly. Thus, John D. Wade, a recent student of literary conditions in Georgia, continues to see things darkly. "As for reading there was little done of one sort or another, beyond that involved by a disposition to follow the newspapers. These were of course read with all their shockingly de-

<sup>15</sup> *The Georgia and Carolina Almanac*, advertisement of the book store of Joseph M. Boardman, Macon, 1851.

tailed advertisements of various medicinal nostrums. Certainly there were few books."<sup>16</sup> But in March, 1831, the general period just commented on, a reading room in Macon was "open to subscribers," offering a "considerable number of papers . . . together with several foreign magazines . . . and most of the valuable reviews and magazines of the United States."<sup>17</sup> In this same year appeared an advertisement of "1500 volumes, a catalogue embracing a considerable portion of which is published in the *Christian Repository*." Though no doubt of limited range and ephemeral value, such books found readers. The next year a circulating library was at least projected in Macon, and in the late winter thirteen annuals were advertised, some of them from London. That conditions had improved by the '40's has been granted.<sup>18</sup> In the late '50's a post-Christmas sale in Macon offered a long list of British poets from Shakespeare to Keble. And it is hard to believe that other important Southern towns were less fortunate than this Georgia city. A careful study of advertisements in all leading Southern newspapers would bring to light much evidence, I believe, to dispel the uncritically accepted theory that the general public of the South was well-nigh bookless. Examination of Charleston papers alone would probably astonish a fair-minded investigator.

It has long been conceded that the South devoured Scott voraciously. I have tried elsewhere to show that the devotion of the South to Sir Walter was for good, not for ill, as Mark Twain believed. Notices of Scott's works in Richmond papers alone, too numerous to be tabulated here, show him purchasable by every sort of bookbuyer. One could secure *The Lady of the Lake* in late 1810 at one dollar; a year later, *The Vision of Don Roderick* at sixty-two and a half cents. In 1819 four of the Waverley novels in a set could be had for four dollars. The Boston edition of the Waverley novels in twenty-seven volumes was sold in 1828 for twenty dollars. A five-volume edition was offered (the price not given) in December, 1840, but in 1845 at fifty cents a volume. It was, I fancy, a boon (all of Waverley for two dollars and a half!) to be read in "the

<sup>16</sup> See his *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet*, p. 68. Notices of patent medicines, and advertisements by horse-breeders would convince sentimentalists about Southern delicacy that realism existed in most "chivalrous" times.

<sup>17</sup> *The Macon Telegraph*, April 4, 1831.

<sup>18</sup> Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

chamber"—the mother's room—in a square stuccoed house on a moderately pretentious Virginia plantation, in a high-ceiled, one-story Georgia country house, or in its pillared counterpart in Athens or La Grange or on a jessamine-wreathed "gallery" of Charleston or Mobile. The fifties were, I believe, the period of the most widespread enjoyment of Scott, in cheaper editions, though the more expensive Boston edition continued to be advertised up to 1860 (which, roughly speaking, ends the period covered in my research), and a "Beautiful edition of the Waverley Novels, Illustrated with the Author's Notes," at a dollar and a quarter each was listed in the same year. But Scott had rivals. Byron and Bulwer challenged his popularity in the respective fields of poetry and fiction. For a while *Pelham* eclipsed *Ivanhoe*.<sup>19</sup> Bulwer's works invaded every nook and cranny, according to a writer in *The Southern Quarterly Review*.<sup>20</sup> Cooper, too, was exceedingly popular. Dickens's novels, like Scott's, were advertised on a weekly twenty-five cents a volume plan. And just before the Civil War, Thackeray, that cordial admirer of Southerners, was receiving high tributes in their literary reviews.

Testimony as to enjoyment of authors other than these I have gleaned from contemporary reviews and from the inexhaustibly fascinating newspapers, especially from *The Richmond Enquirer*. Its remarkable editor for forty-one years, 1804 to 1845, was Thomas Ritchie, whose famous political leadership provoked widespread copying of his organ in other Southern states. His nice discernment in offering his public varied material in general led Jefferson to say that he culled the good from every paper as the bee does "from every flower."<sup>21</sup> Marked emphasis on certain authors whom he gave his readers may represent not only the taste of a peculiarly influential individual, but that of an eager public which clipped his selections semi-weekly (later daily) for treasured scrap-books, and may in some way have voiced its approval of his proffered poets. More than fifty selections from Campbell challenged attention. Of his popularity there is abundant confirmation. Henry T.

<sup>19</sup> *The Southern Literary Messenger*, XIII (1847), 267.

<sup>20</sup> *The Southern Quarterly Review*, IV (1843), 219.

<sup>21</sup> Frederic Harrison, *Journalism in the United States*, pp. 268; 271-272. See also Ambler's *Life of Thomas Ritchie*. For amusing testimony as to Ritchie's influence on his readers, see Beverley D. Munford's *Random Recollections*, pp. 134-135.

Tuckerman, an important literary personage, thus wrote (in 1851): "The poetry of Campbell has outlived in current literature and in individual remembrance the diffuse metrical tales of Scott and Southey, finds a more prolonged response from its general adaptation than the ever-recurring keynote of Byron, and lives on the lips and in the hearts of those who only muse on the elaborate pages of minstrelsy."<sup>22</sup>

James Montgomery, well-nigh forgotten today except for "Angels, from the Realms of Glory," and several other hymns, "Father Ritchie" offered a dozen times under his usual caption, "Much Yet Remains Unsung." Montgomery had hearty admirers. A writer in *The Southern Literary Messenger* praised him, "the Cowper of our times," for "charm and benevolence to all his race." His muse was "copious, always sedate, thoughtful and piously directed, . . . not wanting in the picturesque." On the ground of ignorance, regrettable in "so good a man," he was forgiven (and here was marked tolerance) even his "forty parson power," surpassing that of Cowper, in denunciations of the slave-trade. Another moralist, Mrs. Hemans, appeared about a hundred and twenty-five times before Ritchie's appreciative readers. Popular for various reasons, she was (and continued to be after the War) a solace to the afflicted and bereaved in body, mind, and estate. In a poem on her death an admirer depicted the "waiting angel" as having found her "lyre complete." The more critical mind of Tuckerman found her sentimental and monotonous, but considered her taste "singularly elegant," her soul aglow with "the starlike beauty" of "the nobler female writers." Mrs. Hemans's death evoked striking testimony as to her hold on the South. A reviewer of her *Memoirs* urged his readers to bear in mind that this particular edition had been printed for the benefit of her children: "To Southerners at least we feel that nothing further need be said."

<sup>22</sup> See *The Richmond Enquirer*, January 15, 1825, for a long article on Campbell copied from *The London Literary Gazette*. See also *The Southern Literary Messenger*, VIII, 553-554, for eloquent praise of Campbell; *ibid.*, XVII, 217.

Campbell supplied a favorite response to the inevitable toast, *Woman*, at the end of every banquet and Fourth of July Celebration:

"The world was sad, the garden a wild,  
And man, the hermit, sighed, till woman smiled."

The brother of the poet lived in Richmond for a number of years.  
See Samuel Mordecai, *Richmond in By Gone Days*, p. 202.

Campbell, Montgomery, Mrs. Hemans stimulated patriotism, piety, sentiment.<sup>23</sup> Omitting by design further comment on Scott and Byron, and taking no account of Burns, I must, before concluding, pause a moment to note the great hold Moore had on the South.<sup>24</sup> Investigation of his influence would be interesting, particularly since Moore, who detested America, aroused answering hostility, and yet was read with unquenchable thirst, especially in the case of *Lallah Rookh*. Virginians, who inevitably remembered his stay in and around Norfolk in the winter of 1803-4, handed on to posterity his "Lake of the Dismal Swamp." But one great Virginian, John Randolph of Roanoke, the most brilliant letter-writer of the South, whose comments on his reading flash like gold, was keen enough to detect an ingrained fault: "I can't go Moore's songs," he writes, "they are too sentimental by half; all ideal and above nature."<sup>25</sup> On the whole, comment on Moore was favorable. His *Irish Melodies* had worth which "the veriest churl cannot deny," according to a writer in *The Enquirer*, who considered Moore "a master in touching all emotions of tenderness, generous sensibility to pure and holy devotion to country," possessed of a "kind and unmix'd sympathy for suffering."<sup>26</sup> His influence on Southern sentiment and sentimentality cannot be questioned. In the heart-broken period of the War and its aftermath, the years of daily visits to graves, in Bonaventure or Hollywood, of mourning habiliments

<sup>23</sup> Much might be said of Ritchie's broad tastes as exemplified by his reprints of poems. I have listed three from Ossian; one from Thomson; three from Crabbe; five from Hogg; two from Leigh Hunt; several from Rogers; ten from Southey; nine from Shelley; six from Coleridge; and two from his son; three from the young Tennyson; and at least one from a dozen other of Ritchie's contemporaries. B. W. Proctor was evidently a favorite of his, and also of the editor of *The Georgia Telegraph*. For comment on his popularity see *The Southern Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXII, New Series, Vol. VII (1853), p. 242.

<sup>24</sup> Moore appears in *The Enquirer* oftener than any other poet, Mrs. Hemans alone excepted. *The Georgia Telegraph*, August 28, 1833, called Moore "the head of modern writers in the composition of songs." As the Macon Guards left for the Mexican War, the editor recalled, "Oh, if there be in this heavenly sphere, etc."

<sup>25</sup> See Hugh A. Garland, *Life of Randolph*, I, 15, for an account of Randolph's reading: "Only think of the boy who had read the books we have cited and Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Pope's Homer, Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver, Tom Jones, Orlando Furioso, Thomson's Seasons, before he was eleven years of age." He read, besides, Shakespeare, Chaucer, Milton, Bunyan, Spenser, Dryden, Beaumont and Fletcher, Addison, Southey, Otway, Goldsmith, Burke, Congreve, Sheridan, Chatterton, Cowper, Ovid, Ariosto, Æsop, La Fontaine, Voltaire, Schiller, Rousseau, Madame de Staël,— and this list is by no means exhaustive.

<sup>26</sup> See *The Enquirer* for December 26, 1806.

renewed but never altered during the wearer's lifetime, deep emotion softened into a tender melancholy, of which Moore, like Mrs. Hemans, was eloquent. He was not only the Moore of "Believe me if all those endearing young charms," but of "Come ye Disconsolate," hymn of enduring comfort after the lapse of a century.

Is it not time thoroughly to reestimate the literary facilities of the Old South? Biographies, memoirs, speeches, letters will yield at least a slender harvest. In the case of Scott I have found them somewhat fruitful. Too often, I admit, biographers have dismissed the education and the literary tastes of their subjects by the briefest mention of attendance for a few years at an "old-field school." (One strongly suspects the adjective to be as stereotyped as it is non-committal.) Still we must remember that comments on school-day reading are not to be expected. Literature in the mother tongue received no specialized attention in schools until after the Civil War. Thus college professors in every department were expected to teach English, but only incidentally.<sup>27</sup> A youth's enjoyment of "English classics" would have come through his voluntary perusal through the group reading around the fireside, in the gracious leisure of family life. Repeated reading and memorizing achieved an enviable familiarity of Southern legislators with Shakespeare. The newspaper reports of their addresses thus shed light on the intellectual life of the times. Columns should be searched for themes of commencement speeches; of banquets (even the toasts are illuminating); for the curricula of colleges, announced with surprising detail in the daily press; of academies; and of the schools for girls which flourished vigorously just before the War. The field is white unto the harvest. The toiler must resist steadfastly the alluring bypaths—the advertisements of rewards for the capture of runaway slaves; the diverting obituaries; the notices of horseracing, a dominating pastime; of shipments of poplin and sprigged muslin and drooping, flower-wreathed hats, just received from a sailing packet; schedules of coach routes; of the slow-moving railway trains, not to mention the richly significant comment on

<sup>27</sup> I do not forget that Jefferson introduced Anglo-Saxon at the University of Virginia before Harvard had taken it up. I refer to literary, not linguistic, interest in the mother tongue.

For an interesting outline of a stupendous reading course, see J. G. de R. Hamilton, *The Best Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, pp. 11-14.

state and national affairs, and hints of the far-off rumble of war. If he devotes himself heartily to the indications of books as accessible, as purchased and read, he may refashion his ideas concerning the ante-bellum South, and decide that though it was on the whole inarticulate in literary expression, it was by no means bookless.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### HAWTHORNE, MELVILLE, AND "ETHAN BRAND"

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MR. LEWIS MUMFORD in his *Herman Melville* and Mr. Newton Arvin in his *Hawthorne* perpetuate the painful legend that in the tale "Ethan Brand" Hawthorne drew a spiritual portrait of Melville. "We have reason to believe," says Mr. Arvin, "that in the figure of *Ethan Brand* Hawthorne made a kind of portrait of his new friend: certainly the tradition that he did so is by no means hard to accept."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mumford speaks with more assurance: "It must," he believes, "have been with amazement, with incredulity that he [Melville] finally read the story of Ethan Brand, written during the prime year of their friendship and discovered what in his heart of hearts Hawthorne felt about Melville's lofty pride and his extreme spiritual quests. . . . Brand's language is a parody of Ahab's in *Moby Dick*; and what Hawthorne says about Brand he meant to apply, I have no doubt, possibly by way of warning, to Melville himself."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mumford has no doubt, but that is perhaps because he is always emphatic about Melville's agonies and always glad to add to their numbers. The fact is that Melville read "Ethan Brand" on its appearance in *The Dollar Magazine* for 1851. And there is no trace of self-consciousness in the passage of a letter to Hawthorne in which he comments upon "The Unpardonable Sin," as the apologue was then entitled. Melville writes:

By the way, in the last "Dollar Magazine" I read "The Unpardonable Sin." He was a sad fellow, that Ethan Brand. . . . It is a frightful poetical creed that the cultivation of the brain eats out the heart. But it's my *prose* opinion that in most cases, in those men who have fine brains and work them well, the heart extends down to hams. And though you smoke them with the fire of tribulation, yet like veritable hams, the head only gives the richer and the better flavor. I stand for the heart. To the dogs with the head! I had rather be a fool with a heart than Jupiter Olympus with his head.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arvin, *Hawthorne*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Mumford, *Herman Melville*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife*, I, 404.



In the light of the last two sentences of this bluff commentary what becomes of Mr. Mumford's grisly picture of Melville saying to his injured spirit that "perhaps Ethan Brand was not Melville? Perhaps it was but a shadowy suggestion influenced more by Ahab than by his author?"<sup>4</sup> In the light of Melville's own words, his biographer's imagination seems merely melodramatic.

Hawthorne's was a most sensitive conscience; and when Melville visited him during his tenure of the consulate at Liverpool, Hawthorne's genuine pleasure in that reunion was marred by his memory of an episode which he could not think very honorable to his friendship. And to his journal<sup>5</sup> he loyally confided his misgivings. Was this episode the composition or publication of "Ethan Brand," by which according to Mr. Mumford, he had committed "the unpardonable sin of friendship"? By no means. It was merely the failure of his intercession with President Pierce to procure for Melville a federal post! Is it credible that if a heavier weight had been upon his conscience he would have said nothing about it in his journals? To think so is to misapprehend the very essence of those intimate documents. —There is nothing in the subsequent relations between the two novelists to authorize the inference that either was aware of a personal significance in "Ethan Brand."

Evidence of another kind may be adduced in disproof of the legend. Hawthorne and Melville appear to have met for the first time on August 5, 1850. Dr. Randall Stewart has discovered in *The Boston Museum* for January, 1850, an earlier appearance of the story, and suggests that "Hawthorne must have written 'Ethan Brand' toward the end of 1849."<sup>6</sup> There is reason to believe that "Ethan Brand" had been composed before the end of 1848. Julian Hawthorne observes that "it was in the Mall Street house [in Salem and given up by Hawthorne several months before he met Melville] that 'The Snow Image' and some of the other tales included in the volume bearing that title were written."<sup>7</sup> And Julian Hawthorne interprets as a reference to "Ethan Brand" a passage in a letter which Hawthorne's wife wrote to her mother in December,

<sup>4</sup> Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Arvin (ed.), *The Heart of Hawthorne's Journals*, pp. 229-230.

<sup>6</sup> *The Saturday Review of Literature*, April 27, 1929.

<sup>7</sup> Julian Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, I, 312.

1848. Mrs. Hawthorne said: "It is a tremendous truth, written as he often writes truth, with characters of fire, upon an infinite gloom, softened as not wholly to terrify, by divine touches of beauty, revealing pictures of nature and the tender spirit of a child."<sup>8</sup> All the qualities that Mrs. Hawthorne mentions are in "Ethan Brand"; and, which is even more important, the impression she is seeking to communicate to her mother is remarkably like the essential character of "Ethan Brand."

There is further evidence for the composition of "Ethan Brand" shortly before December, 1848. In a letter written to C. W. Webber on the fourteenth of that month, Hawthorne says: "At last, by main strength, I have wrenched and torn an idea out of my miserable brain; or rather the fragment of an idea like a tooth ill-drawn, and leaving the roots to torture me."<sup>9</sup> Moncure Conway, who was the first to quote from this letter, takes this to be a reference to "Ethan Brand." I assume that he bases his identification upon the fitness to the subtitle of "Ethan Brand": "A Chapter from an Abortive Romance," of Hawthorne's emphasis upon the fragmentary nature of his tale. The fact that upon its first publication *Ethan Brand* bore the title "The Unpardonable Sin" does not in the least invalidate Conway's conjecture: that title may well have been found by the editor of *The Boston Museum*. M. Louis Dhaleine in his thesis *N. Hawthorne, sa vie et son oeuvre* finds the spiritual source of "Ethan Brand" in Hawthorne's marriage, which taught him the peril of pride and solitude; and M. Dhaleine, drawing perhaps upon information unknown to me, affirms that this and all the other stories later collected in *The Snow Image and Other Tales* were in their final form by the end of 1848.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in a passage Hawthorne wrote in his journals as early as 1844, Dr. Stewart finds an unmistakable adumbration of the ruling idea of "Ethan Brand."<sup>11</sup>

Since there appears to be no iota of evidence for the legend which Mr. Mumford and Mr. Arvin repeat; and since there is, as I have demonstrated in this brief study, an important convergence

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 330-331.

<sup>9</sup> M. D. Conway, *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> Dhaleine, *N. Hawthorne, sa vie et son oeuvre*, pp. 142 and 149.

<sup>11</sup> *The Saturday Review of Literature*, April 27, 1929.

of evidence against its truth; I venture to suggest that the circulation of this legend which casts so dark a cloud upon one of the most significant literary friendships America has ever had, be discouraged.

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#### A NOTE ON JOAQUIN MILLER

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WAS Joaquin Miller's birth name Cincinnatus *Heine* or Cincinnatus *Hiner* Miller? Some reputable biographical indexes, like *Who's Who in America*, *The Encyclopedia Americana*, and *The Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th edition), give the middle name as *Heine*, while others, such as *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography* and *The Cambridge History of American Literature* give *Hiner*. Fred Lewis Pattee in his *American Literature since 1870* adopted *Hiner*. So also did Percy H. Boynton in *A History of American Literature*. *Hiner* is likewise given as the correct middle name of the poet by Mr. Harr Wagner, Joaquin Miller's latest biographer and his intimate friend for over a quarter of a century, in his recent book *Joaquin Miller and his Other Self* (Harr Wagner Publishing Company, San Francisco, 1929). Wagner defends the use of the name *Hiner* by quoting George Melvin Miller, the poet's youngest brother, who writes, "Joaquin's birth name was not *Heine*, but '*Hiner*,' given him by his mother, after Doctor *Hiner*, who waited on Mother when Joaquin was born."<sup>1</sup>

Since the true middle name has long been in dispute, it seems strange that Mr. Wagner failed to offer more direct evidence in support of the name *Hiner*, namely the poet's own signature as such. On pages 63-64 of his book, Mr. Wagner prints a letter dated November 27, 1871, from Miller to his brother. The letter is signed C. H. Miller. A postscript follows this signature. In Wagner's book the postscript is unsigned. But a photostat copy of the original letter shows the additional and unmistakable signature "Bro C. *Hiner*."<sup>2</sup> Unless, therefore, it can be shown that Joaquin

<sup>1</sup> See footnote p. v, introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Photostat copy of letter submitted to Fred W. Lorch by Pherne Miller May 5, 1930.

Miller also employed the signature Heine, it becomes practically certain that Hiner was his birth name.

The origin of the confusion with regard to Joaquin Miller's middle name is explained by Pherne Miller, the poet's niece, as follows: "Our family has always known the name to be Hiner. . . . It was while he received so much publicity in London that some one found his christened name. Hiner sounded so much like Heine that they romanced a story about his being named for the German poet Heine. This no doubt flattered Uncle Joaquin for he never took the trouble to correct it."<sup>3</sup>

Juanita Miller, the poet's daughter, does not claim to know which of the two names is correct. She asserts that when authors "sent him articles for correction he would not contradict either way."<sup>4</sup> Such a procedure on Miller's part probably accounts in large measure for the persistence of the error with regard to his middle name.

<sup>3</sup> Letter, October 24, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Juanita Miller to Fred W. Lorch, not dated, but written about October, 1929.

Portland Oregon. Nov 27. 1871

Dear Brother: I am here on my way to California again: Left all well at home. Did not get any money of father, as I thought best to not bother them about money at home, as they did not have it on hand to spare. So I have been looking for some from you. John Quincy tells me you was doing quite well and if you did not have it at hand you could get it of Jim Lueky. Now if you can spare a little please send to me to Mr. Flanders. you can send by Post Office order; that is; if you send so on: I have not much money on hand but am not poor and can ~~set~~ along so do not sad yourself:

Still if you have money you can spare or get halfy conveniently please send it to me, for if you do not I shall have to borrow; as my publisher

do not settle with me till after  
 New Year's. I shall depend on  
 your ~~happiness~~ <sup>happiness</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~...~~ <sup>...</sup>  
 I of I will go to Eugene before  
 George starts I shall go over to  
 Ocala with him and spend  
 the winter with you; and am  
 sure I did not get to see  
 you as I shall probably not  
 get back here again till  
 after I have gone to Europe  
 again and published another  
 book. Give my love to  
 George Jim Leahy &  
 Larry Dwyer & wife and  
 believe me truly yours  
 of friends letters

C. A. Miller

P.S. Do, who know how long I will be in  
 San Luis. but think I will stop there  
 a month or two and then go to Mexico  
 Santa America and on to the East  
 and Europe from there

Bro C. A. Miller

## WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS AND SIDNEY LANIER

AUBREY H. STARKE

*Chicago, Illinois*

IN a recently published article by Mr. E. P. Kuhl<sup>1</sup> are printed for the first time three letters written by Sidney Lanier to Edward Spencer, a poet and man of letters now forgotten, who, like Gibson Peacock, Charlotte Cushman, and Bayard Taylor, was one of the many new friends the publication of "Corn"<sup>2</sup> had brought Lanier. In the second of these letters (April 1, 1875)—I quote from Mr. Kuhl's article—Lanier "tells for the first time the remarkable story of William Dean Howells's rejection of 'Corn' for the *Atlantic Monthly*."

The manuscript of "Corn" had been sent directly to Howells by Hurd, at the time one of the owners of the *Atlantic*. Lanier had met Hurd in 1867 when his novel *Tiger-Lilies* was published by the firm of Hurd and Houghton. Howells, in spite of Hurd's commendation, declined to publish "Corn," returned the manuscript to Hurd, and asked Hurd to show his letter (in which he gave detailed reasons for rejecting the poem) to Lanier. The paragraph in which Lanier describes the agony which Howells's letter caused him, how for a day in his room in the Brooklyn lodging house he struggled with his soul, and how, toward evening, there came from his suffering "certainty and . . . perfect knowledge" that his "business in life was to make poems," is, as Mr. Kuhl says, "a heart cry such as rarely is uttered by an articulate-speaking person." This, however, is not the first time that the story of what was an episode of profound significance in Lanier's development as an artist has been told. And, amusingly enough, the story was first told in the pages of the very magazine for which "Corn" had been rejected.

Howells's editorship of the *Atlantic* terminated in 1881. He was succeeded as editor by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Aldrich by H. E. Scudder, the biographer of Bayard Taylor, and Scudder by Walter Hines Page. In the June and July, 1899, numbers of the *Atlantic* appeared a selection from the correspondence between Taylor and

<sup>1</sup> "Sidney Lanier and Edward Spencer," *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 462-476 (July, 1930).

<sup>2</sup> First published in *Lippincott's Magazine* for February, 1875 (XV, 216-219), "Corn" was the first of Lanier's poems to appear in a Northern magazine after he had ceased contributing to *The Round Table* (New York) in 1868.

Lanier. Page was at the time editor of the *Atlantic*, but the publication of the letters, edited by Mr. Henry Wysham Lanier, may have been arranged for by Scudder, in whose biography of Taylor<sup>3</sup> briefer selections from this correspondence had already appeared. On January 27, 1877, in the course of a long letter, Taylor had written: "If you have anything . . . of a simple, melodious quality, send it to me, and I'm much mistaken if I can't get it in the 'Atlantic,'" and in the published version this was allowed to stand, as was the penultimate sentence of Taylor's next letter (February 5, 1877), "Send me a poem for the 'Atlantic.'"<sup>4</sup> But two paragraphs in Lanier's answer to these letters (February 25, 1877) were printed thus:

About the piece for the ———, I am afflicted with doubts which I find myself unable to solve. Once in my early pleiocene epoch, before the Man had appeared in any of my formations to supplant the crude monsters of earlier periods, I sent "Corn" to Mr. ———; and, upon his refusing it, I tried, some time afterwards, a couple of sonnets, accompanied by a note asking (poor green goose that I was! as if an editor had time for such things,—but I really knew no better) if he would not do me the favor to point out in these a certain "mysticism" of which he had complained in "Corn." This he did not answer: only returning the two poor little sonnets with the usual printed refusal.

This looked so much like a pointed invitation to me to let him alone that I have never had the courage to trouble him since. I thought his treatment very cold at that time. . . . Of course I now see how absurdly callow and unreasonable were my views then; but this does not diminish the mortification with which I remember the ignominious termination of my efforts in that direction; and while I do not retain the least spark of feeling against Mr. ———, I do not feel at all sure but *he* may remember *me* as an absurd person whom he was obliged to rebuff by silence. What would *you* do? I'm sure I do not want to be finical.

Anyone must see, after reading Taylor's letters, that the first dash in Lanier's letter stands for "*Atlantic*," the other two accordingly

<sup>3</sup> *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, edited by Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder. In two volumes. (Boston, 1884). From this *Life*, however, the letters referred to here had been omitted, except Taylor's letter of March 12, 1877, from which reference to the publication of "The Bee," also rejected by Howells, had been omitted.

<sup>4</sup> The letters quoted here all appeared in the July, 1899, number of the *Atlantic* (LXXXIV, 131, 133, 134). The *Atlantic* text appears in the collected *Letters of Sidney Lanier* (New York, 1899) with the punctuation as reproduced here. Additional letters from Taylor to Lanier which appear in this volume contain references neither to Howells nor to the *Atlantic*.



for "Howells." Dashes substituted for words in other letters from Taylor are as little misleading. One naturally reads Taylor's letter of March 12, 1877, thus: "I got your second letter about 'The Bee' just in time, for I had meant to send it to[Howells] that very morning. What you said made me pause for a few days; but I have at last decided to send it none the less"; and his letter of April 15, 1877, thus: "[Howells] returned 'The Bee' along with my 'Assyrian Night Song,' having no mind for either. But for this fact, I should regret having sent yours. I have several times resolved never to send him another poem; but now I wholly resolve. He has personal whim in place of clear critical judgment." If proof of the correctness of these readings is necessary, a reference to the original manuscripts of the Taylor letters in the Cornell University Library dispels all doubt.<sup>5</sup> The *Atlantic* had, while Howells was still alive, published the story of Howells's rejection of "Corn" and Taylor's indictment of him as a man of whim, lacking in clear critical judgment, for all to read.

The *Atlantic*, during Lanier's lifetime and under the editorship of Howells,<sup>6</sup> had carried no review of Lanier's *Poems* (1877), or his *Science of English Verse* (1880), and no notice of his death (1881). But recognition of Lanier by the *Atlantic* had come in 1894 when the July and August numbers of the magazine carried the letters of Lanier to Gibson Peacock, ably edited by William Roscoe Thayer. In the August, 1898, number was published an unfinished essay by Lanier, "The Proper Basis of English Culture," an essay of little intrinsic merit that is chiefly interesting for the translation by Lanier which it contains of the Anglo-Saxon poem, "The Battle of Maldon."<sup>7</sup> Scudder and Page, who published the Lanier material, were, unlike their predecessors, Howells and Aldrich,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Information to this effect has been furnished by Mr. E. R. B. Willis, Assistant Librarian, who has most courteously answered inquiries made by me concerning these letters. The Lanier letters in the Taylor collection at Cornell are not holograph manuscripts but careful copies, Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Lanier having exchanged the original letters of Taylor and Lanier shortly after the death of the latter. There is, however, no copy of Lanier's letter of February 25, 1877, in the collection.

<sup>6</sup> Howells's editorship terminated the year of Lanier's death.

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted in *Music and Poetry* (New York, 1898) as "The Death of Byrthnoth: A Study in Anglo-Saxon Poetry."

<sup>8</sup> For Aldrich's opinion of Lanier, see a letter to Stedman of November 15, 1900, published in the *Life of Thomas Bailey Aldrich* by Ferris Greenslet (Boston, 1908), p. 214. Stedman's reply is given in the *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman* by Laura Sted-

admirers of Lanier. It is quite possible that Page, appreciating the curious interest of the episode which is the only recorded contact of Lanier with Howells, actually did not mean for the dashes inserted in Lanier's letter to conceal the identity of the other actor in the episode. Page must have seen that mention of the *Atlantic* in Taylor's letters of January 27 and February 5 made the dashes in Lanier's letter of February 25 and in Taylor's letters of March 12 and April 15 nothing more than a gesture of courtesy to Howells. In Burton Hendrick's biography of Page we read<sup>9</sup> that Page had been enthusiastic about the poetry of Lanier from his early student days in Baltimore. He had also heard Lanier play with the Peabody Orchestra, and he may later have met Lanier and heard some of Lanier's Johns Hopkins lectures. His conviction that Lanier was a man of genius grew stronger as the years went on. "Don't be a fool, like everyone else," Hendrick quotes him as saying to a friend, "and not see that this is fine poetry." Page was, moreover, a close friend of W. R. Thayer, the friend of the Gibson Peacocks and the editor of the Lanier letters published in the *Atlantic* in 1894. Page as editor of the *Atlantic* very possibly wished to make restitution to Lanier for the hurt he had suffered from the treatment of a previous editor of the *Atlantic*.

Howells's rejection of "Corn," the sonnets, and "The Bee," does not prove that Howells was a bad critic; nor of course do his other failures to take notice of Lanier, much as one must wonder at them. Howells survived Lanier almost forty years, but there is no mention of Lanier in any of Howells's published essays nor in the two volumes of letters recently published by his daughter. His manner in rejecting "Corn" had seemed to Lanier ungracious and even rude. Perhaps it was. But Lanier was little experienced in the ways of editors, and he was quick to take offense at any slight offered a poem as intimately associated as "Corn" was with his life and his devotion to his native Georgia. That he had by February, 1877, overcome much of his sensitiveness and had quite forgiven Howells the coolness that had once caused him so much pain, the difference in tone of the letter to Taylor from that to Spencer, published by Mr. Kuhl, fully proves.

man and George M. Gould (New York, 1910). Aldrich thought Lanier a less significant poet than Halleck or Taylor.

<sup>9</sup> *The Training of an American* (Boston, 1928), p. 325.

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

The editors of *American Literature* are indebted to Dr. Clarence Gohdes, Instructor in English in Duke University, for taking over the management of this bibliography and for doing a large part of the work of going through the approximately one hundred and fifty periodicals on our list. Without his assistance it would have been impossible to continue it. (For the list of periodicals covered, see the November, 1929, issue.) The editors wish to thank those who have helped compile this list of articles. They are: Messrs. Walter Blair (Chicago), Herbert E. Brown (Bowdoin), Arthur Christy (Columbia), C. T. Hallenbeck (Columbia), George E. Hastings (Arkansas), Robert Kane (Ohio State), Ernest E. Leisy (Southern Methodist), Tremaine McDowell (Minnesota), J. H. Nelson (Kansas), T. A. Zunder (Hunter), and the following graduate students at Duke University: Miss Annie E. Barcus and Messrs. Ewing Anderson, William Braswell, David K. Jackson, Hampton M. Jarrell, and Carl Stroven.

The editors of *American Literature* wish to warn readers against regarding this list of articles as complete, even for the periodicals it is intended to cover. In the nature of things it cannot make any pretension to finality. The bibliography is given for what value it may have to teachers and investigators.

J. B. H.

### I. 1607-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Haraszti, Z. "John Adams on Condorcet: His Comments on 'The Outline of the Progress of the Human Mind' Now First Published." *More Books: The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, V, 473-499 (December, 1930).

[BROWN, C. B.] Prescott, F. C. "*Wieland* and *Frankenstein*." *American Literature*, II, 172-173 (May, 1930).

*Wieland* may have influenced Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*.

[DICKINSON, JOHN] Brunhouse, R. L. "The Effect of the Townshend Acts in Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LIV, 355-373 (October, 1930).

A study of the economic and political disturbances in America that prompted John Dickinson to write his *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*.

- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Bloore, S. "Samuel Keimer: A Footnote to the Life of Franklin." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LIV, 255-287 (July, 1930).
- Faÿ, B. "Les Débuts de Franklin en France." *Revue de Paris* for February 1, 1931 (pp. 577-605).
- Riddell, W. R. R. "Benjamin Franklin and Colonial Money." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LIV, 52-64 (January, 1930).
- [FRENEAU, PHILIP] Beatty, J. M. "Churchill and Freneau." *American Literature*, II, 121-130 (May, 1930).
- The influence of Charles Churchill upon Freneau's satires.
- Benson, A. "The Misconception in Philip Freneau's 'Scandinavian War Song.'" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXVIII, 111-116 (January, 1929).
- [JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Chinard, G. "Jefferson and the Physiocrats." *University of California Chronicle*, XXXIII, 18-31 (January, 1931).
- Jefferson's practical idealism is not exclusively American, and existed almost to the same degree in the French Physiocrats and philosophers.
- [MATHER, INCREASE] Murdock, K. B. "Increase Mather's Experiences as Colonial Agent." *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Transactions* for April, 1929 (pp. 200-204).
- [OTIS, JAMES] Mullett, C. F. "Some Political Writings of James Otis, Collected With an Introduction by C. F. Mullett." *University of Missouri Studies*, IV, 259-432 (July and October, 1929).
- [PAINE, THOMAS] Hogue, C. "The Authorship and Date of 'The American Patriot's Prayer.'" *American Literature*, II, 168-172 (May, 1930).
- The "Prayer" appeared as early as 1760. Hence it could not have been written by Paine.
- Smith, F. "The Authorship of 'An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex.'" *American Literature*, II, 277-280 (November, 1930).
- Thomas Paine was not the author.
- [WINTHROP, JOHN] Gray S. "The Political Thought of John Winthrop." *New England Quarterly*, III, 681-705 (October, 1930).
- Johnson, E. A. J. "Economic Ideas of John Winthrop." *New England Quarterly*, III, 235-250 (April, 1930).
- [WHEATLEY, PHILLIS] Matthews, A. "The Writings of Phillis Wheatley." *Notes and Queries*, CLIX, 30-31 (July 12, 1930).
- [MISCELLANEOUS] Blake, N. M. "A Dialogue Between Arnold and Lord Cornwallis." *The Archive* (Duke U.), XLIV, 17-20 (December, 1930).

An eighteenth century poem printed from a manuscript notebook formerly owned by William Mahone, of Virginia.

Counsell, E. M. "Latin Verses presented by Students of William and Mary College to the Governor of Virginia, 1771, 1772, 1773 and 1774." *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, second series, X, 269-274 (July, 1930).

Fisher, J. "The Journal of Esther Burr." *New England Quarterly*, III, 297-315 (April, 1930).

An interesting journal by Esther Burr (1732-1758), a daughter of Jonathan Edwards and the wife of Aaron Burr, president of New Jersey College.

Gohdes, C. "Aspects of Idealism in Early New England." *Philosophical Review*, XXXIX, 537-555 (November, 1930).

Deals chiefly with the early New England reaction to the writings of the Cambridge Platonists.

Hart, A. B. "A Study of Washington Biography." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 820-822 (February 19, 1931).

Johnston, W. "The Early Theatre in the Spanish Borderlands." *Mid-America*, XIII, 121-131 (October, 1930).

King, M. I. "John Bradford and the Institution of Printing in Kentucky." *Letters*, IV, 26-29 (November, 1930).

Kittredge, G. L. "Verses of Adam Winthrop." *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Transactions* for April, 1929 (pp. 187-194).

Miner, L. "The Affair of the 'Mercury' in Prose and Verse." *American Literature*, II, 421-430 (January, 1931).

The "Mercury" was an English frigate which violated a law passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1785 "prohibiting exportation of goods by way of the ports of that state in British vessels, providing the governors of various parts of the British dominions did not reverse their orders forbidding trade in American ships."

Seybolt, R. F. "Schoolmasters of Colonial Boston." *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Transactions* for April, 1929 (pp. 130-156).

Spaulding, E. W. "The Connecticut Courant, a Representative Newspaper in the Eighteenth Century." *New England Quarterly*, III, 443-463 (July, 1930).

York, D. "Shakespeare's New England." *American Mercury*, XXII, 63-70 (January, 1931).

In "gentry and groundlings, in speech, manners and customs, Elizabeth's England lived on north of Boston."

## II. 1800-1870

- [BRYANT, W. C.] McDowell, T. "William Cullen Bryant and Yale." *New England Quarterly*, III, 706-716 (October, 1930).

Aspects of Bryant's life between 1811 and 1814.

- [CHANNING, W. E.] Spiller, R. E. "A Case for W. E. Channing." *New England Quarterly*, III, 55-81 (January, 1930).

A plea for a more general recognition of Dr. Channing's importance as an author.

- [COOPER, J. F.] Gibb, M. M. "Leon Gozlan et Fenimore Cooper." *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, X, 485 (July-September, 1930).

Gozlan's articles in the *Gazette des Enfants* in 1837 lament the poverty of Cooper's materials. "L'homme rouge n'a pas à attendre jusqu'aux époques lointaines pour chanter les malheurs de sa race déchue."

- Jones, V. L. "Gustave Aimard." *Southwest Review*, XV, 452-468 (Summer, 1930).

Discussion of his works imitative of Fenimore Cooper.

- McDowell, T. "James Fenimore Cooper as Self-Critic." *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 508-516 (July, 1930).

- McDowell, T. "The Identity of Harvey Birch." *American Literature*, II, 111-120 (May, 1930).

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Adams, J. T. "Emerson Re-read." *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLVI, 484-492 (October, 1930).

Emerson cannot escape responsibility for being one of the influences which has helped to bring about America's refusal to criticize, analyze, and ponder.

- Garrod, H. W. "Emerson." *New England Quarterly*, III, 3-24 (January, 1930).

A criticism of Emerson's prose, his poetry, and his philosophy.

- Hoeltje, H. H. "Emerson in Minnesota." *Minnesota History*, II, 145-159 (June, 1930).

Details of Emerson's brief excursion into Minnesota as a lecturer and of his reception in the Middle West.

- Hoeltje, H. H. "Emerson's Venture in Western Land." *American Literature*, II, 438-440 (January, 1931).

Deals with Emerson's unprofitable investment in Wisconsin land.

- Hotson, C. "Emerson and the Swedenborgians." *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 517-545 (July, 1930).

- McDowell, T. "A Freshman Poem by Emerson." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLV, 326-329 (March, 1930).

A song written in 1818 for a supper of the freshman class at Harvard, and printed from the commonplace book of Josiah P. Quincy.

Winterich, J. T. "Romantic Stories of Books, Second Series: Emerson's Essays." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVIII, 271-275 (July 19, 1930).

[GREELEY, HORACE] Croffut, W. A. "Horace Greeley Knows His Business." *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLV, 228-239 (February, 1930).

Personal habits and literary methods of Greeley as observed by a contemporary on the *Tribune* staff.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Goggio, E. "Washington Irving and Italy." *Romanic Review*, XXI, 26-33 (January-March, 1930).

Irving's Italian journey interested him in Italian culture and civilization, and furnished him material for some of the stories in *Tales of a Traveller*.

Pochmann, H. A. "Irving's German Sources in *The Sketch Book*." *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 477-507 (July, 1930).

Pochmann, H. A. "Irving's German Tour and Its Influence on His Tales." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLV, 1150-1187 (December, 1930).

Williams, S. T. "The First Version of the Writings of Washington Irving in Spanish." *Modern Philology*, XXVIII, 185-201 (November, 1930).

The first appearance of Irving's writings in Spanish in *Tareas de un solitario* (1829) exhibits the easy identification of Irving's American legends with those of Spain.

Williams, S. T. "Washington Irving and Fernan Caballero." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIX, 352-366 (July, 1930).

It is probable that some of Irving's popularity in Spain was due to his sympathy with the Spanish literary form of the "artículo de costumbres."

Yarborough, M. C. "Rambles with Washington Irving: Quotations from an Unpublished Autobiography of William C. Preston." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXIX, 423-439 (October, 1930).

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] Warren, L. A. "Lincoln's Pioneer Father." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXXIV, 389-400 (October, 1930).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Haight, G. S. "Longfellow and Mrs. Sigourney." *New England Quarterly*, III, 532-537 (July, 1930).

Hatfield, J. T. "Longfellow's 'Lapland Song.'" *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLV, 1188-1192 (December, 1930).

Study of the "Lapland Song" in "My Lost Youth," and reproduction of the original manuscript of the poem.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Clark, H. H. "Lowell—Humanitarian, Nationalist, or Humanist?" *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 411-441 (July, 1930).

Warren, A. "Lowell on Thoreau." *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 442-462 (July, 1930).

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Damon, S. F. "Why Ishmael Went to Sea." *American Literature*, II, 281-283 (November, 1930).

Reasons for Melville's dissatisfaction which caused him to go to sea. Forsythe, R. S. "Mr. Lewis Mumford and Melville's *Pierre*." *American Literature*, II, 286-289 (November, 1930).

"Discrepancies between the synopsis of *Pierre* which Mr. Mumford gives in his book and the novel itself as Melville wrote it." Hunt, L. "Herman Melville as a Naval Historian." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXIX, 22-30 (September, 1930).

A criticism of *White Jacket* which holds "that it was partly by Melville's efforts that our old navy advanced, in the employment of humanity as a foundation for discipline, far beyond the period of which he wrote."

Ritchie, M. C. "Herman Melville." *Queen's Quarterly*, XXXVII, 36-61 (Winter, 1930).

Watson, E. L. G. "Melville's *Pierre*." *New England Quarterly*, III, 195-234 (April, 1930).

The author finds *Pierre* "all symbolism" with "no realism at all," and the reader "is again and again astonished at the suggestiveness and perfection" of Melville's symbols. The book was "the center of Melville's being."

[POE, E. A.] Anonymous. A note on David Poe (the poet's father) as actor. *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVII, 3041-3042 (June 21, 1930).

Campbell, K. "A Bit of Chiversian Mystification." *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. X, 152-154 (July 8, 1930).

Evidence to show that the poem "The Departed," published in the *Broadway Journal* of July 12, 1845, over the signature "L," and attributed by Thomas Holley Chivers to his friend Poe, is really the work of Chivers.

Campbell, K. "Poe's Knowledge of the Bible." *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 546-551 (July, 1930).

Chiefly concerned with a criticism of *Biblical Allusions in Poe*, by W. M. Forrest.

Cherry, F. N. "The Source of Poe's 'Three Sundays in a Week.'" *American Literature*, II, 232-235 (November, 1930).

Poe probably found his "immediate source" in an article entitled "Three Thursdays in One Week," which appeared in *The Philadelphia Public Ledger* for October 29, 1841.



Clough, W. O. "The Use of Color Words by Edgar Allan Poe." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLV, 598-613 (June, 1930).

Daugherty, K. L. "Notes: Poe and *Blackwood's*." *American Literature*, II, 289-292 (November, 1930).

Notes indicating "more accurately than has yet been shown Poe's use of *Blackwood's* as a source for his own material."

De Ternant, A. "Edgar Allan Poe and Alexandre Dumas." *Notes and Queries*, CLVII, 456 (December 28, 1929).

Fontainas, A. "Ce Qu' Ont Pensé d'Edgar Allan Poe Ses Contemporains." *Mercur de France*, CCXXV, 312-324 (January 15, 1931).

Fontainas, A. "Un Temoignage sur Edgar Poe." *Figaro* for June 21, 1930.

Part of the article listed immediately above.

Garnett, R. S. "The Mystery of Edgar Allan Poe." *Blackwood's Magazine*, CCXXVII, 235-298 (February, 1930).

The article records the publication in the "*Times Literary Supplement* of 21st. November last" of a letter from Mr. W. Roberts containing a translation of part of a manuscript written by Alexandre Dumas and now owned by Mr. Gabriel Wells of New York. The part of the manuscript translated, an incomplete preface to an unknown work, asserts that Poe visited Dumas in Paris "about 1832."

Hungerford, E. "Poe and Phrenology." *American Literature*, II, 209-231 (November, 1930).

Jones, J. J. "Poe's 'Nicéan Barks.'" *American Literature*, II, 433-438 (January, 1931).

Poe may have derived his "Nicéan Barks" from Catullus.

King, L. "Notes on Poe's Sources." *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. X, 128-134 (July, 1930).

Rhea, R. L. "Some Observations on Poe's Origins." *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. X, 135-146 (July, 1930).

Sparks, A. "Edgar Allan Poe: Bibliography." *Notes and Queries*, CLIX, 465 (December 27, 1930).

List of a few works to be consulted for a bibliography of Poe.

Stovall, F. "An Interpretation of Poe's 'Al Aaraaf.'" *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. IX, 106-133 (July, 1929).

Stovall, F. "Poe's Debt to Coleridge." *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. X, 70-127 (July, 1930).

Turner, H. A. "A Note on Poe's 'Julius Rodman.'" *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. X, 147-157 (July, 1930).

Evidence is adduced to prove that Poe in *Julius Rodman* drew on Irving's *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* not only for the details of the story but also at various points for the very language he used.

Werner, W. L. "Poe's Theories and Practice in Poetic Technique." *American Literature*, II, 157-165 (May, 1930).

Williams, V. "The Detective in Fiction." *Fortnightly Review*, CXXVIII, 380-392 (September, 1930).

Touching upon Poe.

[SIMMS, W. G.] Whaley, G. W. "A Note on Simms's Novels." *American Literature*, II, 173-174 (May, 1930).

The literary quotations used by Simms in a number of his novels are classified.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Adams, R. "A Bibliographical Note on *Walden*." *American Literature*, II, 166-168 (May, 1930).

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Warren, A. "Lowell, on Thoreau." *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 442-462 (July, 1930).

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Robert Buchanan "recognized Whitman's genius early and fought lustily for his recognition."

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Cestre, C. "Walt Whitman, Le Poète." *Revue Anglo-Américaine* for October, 1930 (pp. 19-42).

Howard, L. "Walt Whitman and the American Language." *American Speech*, V, 441-451 (August, 1930).

Hungerford, E. "Walt Whitman and His Chart of Bumps." *American Literature*, II, 350-384 (January, 1931).

Whitman's knowledge of, and interest in, phrenology.

Monroe, W. S. "Recent Walt Whitman Literature in America." *Revue Anglo-Américaine* for December, 1930 (pp. 138-141).

Ross, E. C. "Whitman's Verse." *Modern Language Notes*, XLV, 363-364 (June, 1930).

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Shepard, G. F. "Letters of Lucy Larcom to the Whittiers." *New England Quarterly*, III, 501-518 (July, 1930).

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[MISCELLANEOUS] Benson, A. B. "Henry Wheaton's Writings on Scandinavia." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIX, 546-561 (October, 1930).

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Braswell, W. "An Unpublished California Letter of Joseph Glover Baldwin." *American Literature*, II, 292-294 (November, 1930).

The letter is dated from San Francisco, January 27, 1855, and contains biographical data.

Damon, S. F. "Some American References to Blake before 1863." *Modern Language Notes*, XLV, 365-368 (June, 1930).

Geiser, S. W. "Audubon in Texas." *Southwest Review*, XVI, 109-136 (Autumn, 1930).

Hicks, G. "Letters to William Francis Channing." *American Literature*, II, 294-298 (November, 1930).

Letters from Fredrika Bremer (1850), Louis Kossuth (1852), R. W. Emerson (1853), Theodore Parker (1858), W. L. Garrison (1863), Walt Whitman (1868), and J. G. Whittier (1871).

Holliday, C. "Stephen Collins Foster." *Overland Monthly*, LXXXVIII, 199 (July, 1930).

Jackson, J. "A Bibliography of the Works of George Lippard." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LIV, 131-154 (April, 1930).

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Mabbott, T. O. "Collation of a Book by T. H. Chivers." *Notes and Queries*, CLIX, 257 (October 11, 1930).

Mabbott, T. O. "Richard Penn's Smith's Tragedy of Caius Marius." *American Literature*, II, 141-156 (May, 1930).

The text of the last scene of the play is printed, with an introduction.

Magyar, F. "The History of the Early Milwaukee German Theatre." *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XIII, 375-386 (June, 1930).

Mann, D. L. "The First Booksellers' Convention in America." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVII, 2509-2513 (May, 17, 1930).

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Seitz, D. C. "A Prince of Best Sellers." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 940 (February 21, 1931).

A note on the Reverend J. H. Ingraham, of whose story *The Prince of the House of David* between four and five million copies are said to have been sold.

Schultz, E. "James Hall in Vandalia." *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, XXIII, 92-112 (April, 1930).

Stearns, B. "New England Magazines for Ladies, 1830-1860." *New England Quarterly*, III, 627-656 (October, 1930).

Zimmerman, L. M. "An Unpublished Letter of Lydia Maria Child." *Yale University Library Gazette*, V, 15-16 (July, 1930).

### III. 1870-1900

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Bennett, M. A. "A Note on Josephine Pollitt's *Emily Dickinson: The Human Background of Her Poetry*." *American Literature*, II, 283-286 (November, 1930).

"Some discrepancies between the biography and its sources."

Untermeyer, L. "Emily Dickinson." *Saturday Review of Literature*, VI, 1169-1171 (July 5, 1930).

[HARRIS, J. C.] Cousins, P. "The Debt of Joel Chandler Harris to Joseph Addison Turner." *The Chimes*, XLII, 3-10 (March, 1930).

Winterich, J. T. "Romantic Stories of Books, XVI, *Uncle Remus*." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVIII, 2279-2283 (November 5, 1930).

[HARTE, BRET] Winterich, J. T. "Romantic Stories of Books, Second Series: *The Luck of Roaring Camp*." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVII, 2639-2643 (May 24, 1930).

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Grattan, C. H. "Howells: Ten Years After." *American Mercury*, XX, 42-50 (May, 1930).

[JAMES, HENRY] McGill, V. J. "Henry James: Master Detective." *Bookman*, LXXII, 251-257 (November, 1930).

Walbrook, H. M. "The Novels of Henry James." *Fortnightly Review*, CXXVII, 680-691 (May, 1930).

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Hubbell, J. B. "A Commencement Address by Sidney Lanier." *American Literature*, II, 385-404 (January, 1931).

The address, delivered on June 30, 1869, is reproduced from the catalogue of Furlow Masonic Female College, Americus, Georgia. It throws "light upon Lanier's thinking in regard to Reconstruction, farming, and woman suffrage," and contains remarks on art and Southern literature.

Kuhl, E. P. "Sidney Lanier and Edward Spencer." *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 462-476 (July, 1930).

Several of Lanier's letters to Spencer are included.

Lanier, S. "What I Know About Flowers." *Southern Churchman*, XCIV, II (February 23, 1929).

"A Sunday School address, written by Sidney Lanier for Master McKay, May 1, 1873."

[MARK TWAIN] Clemens, C. "Recollections of Mark Twain." *North American Review*, CCXXX, 522-529, 654-659; CCXXXI, 50-57 (November, December, 1930; and January, 1931).

I. Childhood Memories; II. Love Letters of the Humorist; III. Last Years of the Humorist. These articles are based upon family anecdotes and correspondence. Particularly interesting are the letters from Clemens to his wife.

Lorch, F. W. "A Mark Twain Letter." *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXVIII, 268-276 (April, 1930).

Mabbott, T. O. "Mark Twain's Artillery: A Mark Twain Legend." *Missouri Historical Review*, XXV, 23-29 (October, 1930).

A "curious article about Mark Twain" which "originally appeared in the *Carson City Appeal* early in 1880," with notes by Professor Mabbott.

[MILLER, JOAQUIN] Peterson, M. S. "Joaquin Miller: An Introductory Sketch." *Revue Anglo-Américaine* for December, 1930 (pp. 114-122).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Fatout, P. "An Enchanted Titan." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXX, 51-59 (January, 1931).

An effort to revive interest in Fitz-James O'Brien.

Pound, L. "Biographical Accuracy and 'H. H.'" *American Literature*, II, 418-421 (January, 1931).

Inaccuracies in the biography of Helen Hunt Jackson.

Sanders, J. B. "John Fiske." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVII, 264-278 (September, 1930).

Stephens, I. K. "Edmund Montgomery." *Southwest Review*, XVI, 200-235 (Winter, 1931).

Rehabilitates an American philosopher of submerged reputation. Wasson, J. "The Southwest in 1880." *New Mexico Historical Review*, V, 263-287 (July, 1930).

A reprint from an article by Jos. Wasson in *The San Francisco Stock Report* for January 15, 1881, found pasted in a notebook of the late Captain John G. Bourke.

White, W. A. "A Reader in the Eighties and Nineties." *Bookman*, LXXII, 229-235 (November, 1930).

#### IV. 1900-1931

[ATHERTON, GERTRUDE] Maurice, A. B. "Gertrude Atherton." *Bookman*, LXXII, 62-64 (September, 1930).

The history of Mrs. Atherton's books.

[BIERCE, AMBROSE] Monaghan, F. "Ambrose Bierce and the Authorship of *The Monk and the Hangman's Daughter*." *American Literature*, II, 337-349 (January, 1931).

*The Monk and the Hangman's Daughter* is a translation or paraphrase from the German of Richard Voss with a few deletions. Approximately seventy lines have been added either by Bierce or de Castro.

[BOURNE, RANDOLPH] Mumford, L. "The Image of Randolph Bourne." *New Republic*, LXIV, 151-152 (September 24, 1930).

[CARMAN, BLISS] Roberts, C. G. D. "More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman." *Dalhousie Review*, X, 2-9 (April, 1930).

Cabell, J. B. "About One and Another: A Note as to Joseph Hergesheimer." *Books in the New York Herald Tribune*, VI, 1, 6 (June 15, 1930).

Cabell, J. B. "A Note as to Sinclair Lewis." *American Mercury*, XX, 394-397 (August, 1930).

[COOLBRITH, INA] Stevenson, L. "The Mind of Ina Coolbrith." *Overland Monthly*, LXXXVIII, 150 (May, 1930).

[ELIOT, T. S.] Collin, W. E. "T. S. Eliot." *Sewanee Review*, XXXIX, 13-24 (January-March, 1931).

[GARLAND, HAMLIN] Mott, F. L. "Exponents of the Pioneers." *Palimpsest*, XI, 61-66 (February, 1930).

Discussion of Hamlin Garland and Herbert Quick.

[GLASPELL, SUSAN] Crawford, B. J. "Susan Glaspell." *Palimpsest*, XI, 517-521 (December, 1930).

[HERGESHEIMER, JOSEPH] Cabell, J. B. "About One and Another: A Note as to Joseph Hergesheimer." *Books in the New York Herald Tribune*, VI, 1, 6 (June 15, 1930).

Glasgow, Ellen. "The Biography of Manuel." *Saturday Review of Literature*, VI, 1108-1110 (June 7, 1930).

Criticism of James Branch Cabell.

[HOUGH, EMERSON] Grahame, P. "A Novelist of the Unsung." *Palimpsest*, XI, 67-77 (February, 1930).

[JOHNSTON, MARY] Johnson, Merle. "American First Editions: Mary Johnston 1870—" *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVIII, 276-277 (July 19, 1930).

[LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Anonymous. "Sinclair Lewis." *Saturday Review of Literature*, VII, 357. (November 22, 1930).

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Russell, F. T. "The Growing Up of Sinclair Lewis." *University of California Chronicle*, XXXII, 319-324 (July, 1930).

Sherwood, R. E. "Is the Nobel Prize an Insult?" *Scribner's Magazine*, LXXXIX, 11-12 (January, 1931).

[MASTERS, E. L.] Altrocchi, R. "Edgar Lee Masters and Joinville." *Modern Language Notes*, XLV, 360-362 (June, 1930).

The source of Masters's "Friar Yves."

Wisewell, C. E. "Marivaux and E. L. Masters." *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, X, 298-303 (April-June, 1930).

The resemblance between the *Chemin de la Fortune* and *Spoon River Anthology* seems obvious.

[REESE, L. W.] Harriss, R. P. "April Weather: The Poetry of Lizette Woodworth Reese." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXIX, 200-207 (April, 1930).

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Beebe, L. "Dignified Faun: A Portrait of E. A. R." *Outlook and Independent*, CLV, 647-650; 677 (August 27, 1930).

Concerned with Robinson the man rather than the poet.

[SANDBURG, CARL] Nash, J. V. "Carl Sandburg: An American Homer." *Open Court*, XLIV, 633-639 (October, 1930).

Rosenfeld, P. "Carl Sandburg and Photography." *New Republic*, LXI, 251-252 (January 22, 1930).

[SEEGER, ALAN] Anonymous. "Unknown, His Grave." *Literary Digest*, CVIII, 16 (January 31, 1931).

Brief account of the death of Alan Seeger and the fruitless search for his grave. From the Macon, Georgia, *Telegraph*.

[SHERMAN, STUART P.] Warren, A. "Humanist Into Journalist." *Sewanee Review*, XXXVIII, 357-365 (July-September, 1930).

[WOODBERRY, G. E.] Thwing, C. F. "George Edward Woodberry." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXVIII, 433-443 (June, 1930).

[NEW HUMANISM] Anonymous. "The Embattled Humanists." *New Republic*, LXI, 315 (February 12, 1930).

A brief editorial summary of the origin, nature, and present aspects of the conflict.

Cabell, J. B. "Dizain of the Doomed." *Books in the New York Herald Tribune*, VI, 1, 6 (April 27, 1930).

Collins, S. "The End of the Anti-Humanist Myth." *Bookman*, LXXII, 145-164; 209-228 (October, 1930).

Davis, J. L. "A Survey of the Humanist Controversy." *Letters*, IV, 6-15 (November, 1930).

Hazlitt, H. "Standards (Loud Cheers)." *Nation*, CXXXI, 613-614 (December 3, 1930).

An attempt to define "standards" after Matthew Arnold.

Keith, L. J. "One Humanist to Another." *Sewanee Review*, XXXVIII, 441-463 (October-December, 1930).

Saltpeter, H. "Irving Babbitt: Calvinist." *Outlook and Independent*, CLV, 421-424; 439 (July 16, 1930).

Wilson, E. "Sophocles, Babbitt and Freud." *New Republic*, LXV, 68-70 (December 3, 1930).

Edmund Wilson replies to Seward Collins, who took him "to task in the October number of *The Bookman*."

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anonymous. "Best Sellers: 1930." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 406-409 (January 24, 1931).

Anonymous. "1930 Book Club Selections." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 442-444 (January 24, 1931).

Anonymous. "Ten Thousand Books a Year." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 411-412 (January 24, 1931).

Statistics of books published in the United States in 1929 and 1930.

Bird, J. "The Future of Oliver La Farge." *Bookman*, LXXII, 11-14 (September, 1930).

Burke, K. "A Decade of American Fiction." *Bookman*, LXIX, 561-568 (August, 1930).

Appraisal of the work of Thornton Wilder, Ernest Hemingway, Elizabeth M. Roberts, Conrad Aiken, E. E. Cummings, and others of the 1920's.

Canby, H. S. "The Promise of American Life. *Saturday Review of Literature*, VII, 301-303 (November 8, 1930).

Deals chiefly with contemporary American literature—"a literature of discontent."

"Elsbeth." "Shall We Accost F. P. A?" *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 289-291 (January 17, 1931).



Foerster, N. "The Literary Prophets." *Bookman*, LXXII, 35-44 (September, 1930).

Deals with the work of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, and Lewis Mumford.

Frederick, J. T. "The Younger School." *Palimpsest*, XI, 78-86 (February, 1930).

Discussion of the younger school of Iowa writers.

Gilpin, E. H. "The Green Pastures." *Nation and Athenæum*, XLVII, 564-565 (August 2, 1930).

Concerning the play *The Green Pastures*.

Hansen, H. "The Year 1930: The Literary Horizon of the Past Year, in Retrospect." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 405-406 (January 29, 1931).

Reprinted from the *New York World*.

McKendrick, W. S. "William Stearns Davis." *Harvard Graduate's Magazine*, XXXVIII, 457-462 (June, 1930).

Biography and criticism of a well-known historical novelist.

Putnam, H. "The Library of Congress." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 444-448 (January 24, 1931).

A summary of the librarian's report of December 1, 1930.

## V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Arliss, G. and Vizetelly, F. H. "English As She Is Spoke." *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLVII, 145-151 (February, 1931).

Most of the plays today are concerned with characters which compel the actors to reproduce the worst faults of the average man. Pronunciation of radio announcers in America is more uniform than that of those in England.

Bayer, H. G. "French Names in Our Geography." *Romanic Review*, XXI, 195-203 (July-September, 1930).

Bradbrooke, W. "California as an English Place-Name." *Notes and Queries*, CLX, 14 (January 3, 1931).

Davis, A. K. "On the Collecting and Editing of Ballads." *American Speech*, V, 452-455 (August, 1930).

Davis, J. B. "The Life and Work of Sequoyah." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VIII, 149-180 (June, 1930).

The article contains the Cherokee alphabet and two specimen pages of Cherokee prints. It is accompanied by a bibliography.

Dondore, D. "Big Talk! The Flyting, the Gabe, and the Frontier Boast." *American Speech*, VI, 45-55 (October, 1930).

Certain aspects of frontier language are connected with the tradition of older heroic literature.

Douthill, S. W. "Play-Parties in Kentucky." *Letters*, III, 30-38 (February, 1930).

Several songs used in the "play-parties" are given.

Holmes, U. T. "A Study in Negro Onomastics." *American Speech*, V, 463-467 (August, 1930).

Howard, L. "Walt Whitman and the American Language." *American Speech*, V, 441-451 (August, 1930).

Malone, K. "The Diction of *Strange Interlude*." *American Speech*, VI, 19-28 (October, 1930).

McDowell, T. "Notes on Negro Dialect in the American Novel to 1821." *American Speech*, V, 291-296 (April, 1930).

Meredith, M. "'Doctresses,' 'Authoresses,' and Others." *American Speech*, V, 476-481 (August, 1930).

Study of words ending in "ess," etc.

Meredith, M. "'Hards' and 'Softs' in American Politics." *American Speech*, V, 408-413 (June, 1930).

Party names in the United States during the forties and fifties.

Morris, R. L. "Wings of God's Chilluns." *Sewanee Review*, XXXIX, 90-96 (January-March, 1931).

A review of the Negro ballad revival.

Nieburg, G. F. "The American Slanguage." *Forum*, LXXXIV, 371-376 (December, 1930).

Payne, L. W., Jr. "Recent Research in Balladry and Folk Songs." *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, VIII, 160-169 (1930).

Pound, L. "Research in American English." *American Speech*, V, 359-365 (June, 1930).

Radin, P. "A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language." *Language*, VI, 64-85 (March, 1930).

Deals with a Mexican dialect.

Rawlings, M. K. "Cracker Chidlings." *Scribner's Magazine*, LXXXIX, 127-134 (February, 1931).

Seven humorous anecdotes told by the folk of interior Florida at the expense of the "crackers" from Georgia.

Simley, A. "A Study of Norwegian Dialect in Minnesota." *American Speech*, V, 469-474 (August, 1930).

Trager, G. L. "The Pronunciation of 'Short A' in American Standard Speech." *American Speech*, V, 396-400 (June, 1930).

Yaufer, D. W. "Schoonerisms." *American Speech*, V, 387-395 (June, 1930).

Speech peculiarities of North-Atlantic fishermen.

## VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Blair, W. "Burlesques in Nineteenth-Century American Humor." *American Literature*, II, 236-247 (November, 1930).

Boie, M. "The Myth About the Middle West." *Spectator*, CXLV, 9-10 (July 5, 1930).

Calverton, V. F. "The Puritan Myth." *Scribner's Magazine*, LXXXIX, 251-257 (March, 1931).

"A challenge to the theory that the Puritans are responsible for the inferiority of our literature and culture."

Cameron, M. M. "Play-Acting in Canada during the French Régime." *Canadian Historical Review*, XI, 9-19 (March, 1930).

Carpenter, F. I. "The Vogue of Ossian in America: A Study in Taste." *American Literature*, II, 405-417 (January, 1931).

Censorship "The Censorship Forum." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVII, 2734-2737 (May 31, 1930).

Brief articles by Morris L. Ernst, Mary W. Dennett, John S. Sumner, and H. V. Kaltenborn.

DeVoto, B. "Literary Censorship in Cambridge." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXIX, 30-42 (September, 1930).

Eaton, W. P. "The Cambridge School of the Drama." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXIX, 16-22 (September, 1930).

Description of a newly formed school for the drama at Harvard.

Eayrs, H. S. "Discovering Canada in Literature." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVII, 2990-2992 (June 21, 1930).

Eskew, G. L. "The Steamboat in Literature." *New York Herald Tribune* for March 23, 1930.

Firkins, O. W. "Undepicted America." *Yale Review*, XX, 140-150 (Autumn, 1930).

The vanished era of America was not depicted because the New England group of writers looked to Europe.

Flournoy, M. H. "Art in the Early South." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXIX, 402-418 (October, 1930).

Forbes, C. "The St. Louis School of Thought." *Missouri Historical Review*, XXV, 83-101 (October, 1930).

The first instalment of a history. This section deals largely with Henry C. Brokmeyer.

- Frederick, J. T. "The Writer's Iowa." *Palimpsest*, XI, 57-60 (February, 1930).
- Green, M. L. "Stendhal in America." *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, X, 304-312 (April-June, 1930).
- Hale, E. E. "The Romantic Landscape of the Far West." *Union College Bulletin* for January, 1930 (pp. 5-17).
- Hand, A. C. "Ibsen's Reputation in America since his Death in 1906." *University of Colorado Studies*, XVIII, 69-70 (October, 1930).
- Hanson, H. "These Literary Lobbies." *North American Review*, CCXXX, 162-168 (August, 1930).
- Hill, E. V. "The Iroquois Indians and Their Lands since 1783." *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Society*, XI, 335-353 (October, 1930).
- Hoeltje, H. H. "Iowa Literary Magazines." *Palimpsest*, XI, 87-94 (February, 1930).
- Johnson, M. "Additions to American Firsts." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 327-329 (January 17, 1931).
- Johnston, W. "Entertainments of the Spanish Explorers." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VIII, 89-93 (March, 1930).
- Songs and plays are mentioned.
- Jones, H. M. "The Future of Southern Culture." *Southwest Review*, XVI, 141-164 (Winter, 1931).
- Advocates a Young South movement but not a return to agrarianism.
- Kendall, C. "Support of California Letters." *Overland Monthly*, LXXXVIII, 335 (November, 1930).
- The late Senator James D. Phelan's influence on California letters.
- Kindersley, A. F. "Some Haunts of Clio in America." *Contemporary Review*, CXXXVIII, 621-629 (November, 1930).
- Touching upon early history of Massachusetts, Virginia, and California.
- Lacher, J. H. A. "Francis A. Hoffman of Illinois and Hans Buschbauer of Wisconsin." *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XIII, 327-355 (June, 1930).
- Landrum, G. W. "Sir Walter Scott and his Literary Rivals in the Old South." *American Literature*, II, 256-276 (November, 1930).
- An attempt to ascertain what the South knew and thought of Scott, and "whether his influence was for good or ill."
- McWilliams, C. "The writers of California." *Bookman*, LXXII, 352-360 (December, 1930).
- A full list from 1850 to the present.

Mead, E. D. "The Meaning of Massachusetts." *New England Quarterly*, III, 25-54 (January, 1930).

The definitions are largely supplied by New England authors.

Miller, C. R. D. "American Notes in the Odes of Labindo." *Romanic Review*, XXI, 204-208 (July-September, 1930).

The work of the Italian poet Giovanni Fantoni (1755-1807) contains many references to Americans and America.

Nichols, J. P. "Colonial Industries of New Jersey, 1618-1815." *Americana*, XXIV, 299-342 (July, 1930).

Nixon, H. C. "De Bow's Review." *Sewanee Review*, XXXIX, 54-61 (January-March, 1931).

An interpretative history of this important economic magazine of the South.

Rosenburg, M. V. "One Book Traveler Looks at the South." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 39-41 (January 3, 1931).

Sanchez, N. V. "Material for Fiction Writing in Early History of California." *Overland Monthly*, LXXXVIII, 109 (April, 1930).

The mass of original records assembled by Hubert Howe Bancroft offers a rich field for romancers.

Sargent, N. B. "High School Poets." *North American Review*, CCXXX, 113-120 (July, 1930).

Stearns, B. "Before Godey's." *American Literature*, II, 248-255 (November, 1930).

American magazines for ladies before 1830.

Sypherd, W. O. "'Judith' in American Literature." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLV, 336-338 (March, 1930).

Thompson, J. W. "The Origin and Development of the Newspaper." *Rice Institute Pamphlet*, XVII, 141-156 (April, 1930).

Early American newspapers are briefly mentioned.

Warren, D. "American Books in Havana." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXVIII, 405-407 (August 2, 1930).

Wright, B. F., Jr. "American Democracy and the Frontier." *Yale Review*, XX, 349-365 (Winter, 1930).

"Perhaps the greatest shortcoming of this frontier interpretation of our national development is its tendency to isolate the growth of American democracy from the general course of Western civilization."

Yeigh, F. "Scott, Carlyle, Dickens, and Canada." *Queen's Quarterly*, XXXVII, 335-347 (Spring, 1930).

## BOOK REVIEWS

*TOWARD STANDARDS: A Study of the Present Critical Movement in American Letters.* By Norman Foerster, Director of the School of Letters, University of Iowa. New York: Farrar and Reinhart. [1930].

*American Critical Essays, XIXth and XXth Centuries.* Edited with an Introduction by Norman Foerster. The Oxford University Press. [World's Classics Series. 1930].

The preface to *Toward Standards* begins by asserting as unquestioned "the complete bankruptcy of the naturalistic movement," and continues: "Naturalism has prided itself upon its humble devotion to science, . . . forgetting that, whatever science may do for us, it cannot give us standards." As earlier utterances of Professor Foerster's school have stressed the evil consequences flowing from romanticism, so this tends to throw the emphasis on those flowing from science.

The book, though not lacking in unity of purpose, shows some signs of being a compilation rather than an organized structure. The first chapter, "Humanism in the Renaissance," is a scholarly and, so far as the present reviewer can judge, a sound essay. The last eight pages sketch the cultural development of four centuries, and so connect the time of Erasmus with the present. In succeeding sections are studies of impressionistic criticism, and of historical criticism considered under the two sub-heads, "Journalism and Prophecy." The last essay, here entitled "Humanism in the Twentieth Century," is a reprint of the concluding chapter of Professor Foerster's *American Criticism*. In the earlier volume it was preceded by chapters on Poe, Emerson, Lowell, and Whitman, and was called "The Twentieth Century—Conclusion." Here, with a more restricted and it would seem a more accurate title, it follows a discussion of living critics and others of the last half-generation. It is significant of the firmness and consistency with which the author holds to his position that the same utterance, unchanged, serves as the conclusion for studies so different. "A note on Humanism and Religion," suggested by a recent essay of G. K. Chesterton's, forms a sort of postscript to the volume.

The chapter on "Impressionism," while it mentions *The New Republic* and a few names like those of H. L. Mencken and Ludwig Lewisohn, deals mostly with principles as enunciated by Sainte-Beuve, Anatole France, Walter Pater, Croce, and other older critics. The next two chapters, entitled "History: Journalism" and "History: Prophecy," come more

aply under the sub-title, "A Study of the Present Critical Movement in American Letters." The former devotes considerable attention to H. S. Canby and the late Stuart P. Sherman, with more than a glance at Carl Van Doren; the latter chapter considers Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, and Lewis Mumford. That all these critics will be found measurably wanting is a foregone conclusion. The way in which Mr. Foerster contemplates the balances, and the weights he places in the opposing scales will be interesting to any one concerned with the present critical movement in American letters.

The closing essay was probably the most discussed section of *American Criticism* when that work appeared three years ago. While the preceding chapters of the present volume approach it from another direction, the light that they throw on it is not different enough to call for a renewed discussion. One tribute should be paid—that though partisan, it is a quiet and respectful presentation of the author's position. It is unfortunate that so many utterances of the New Humanists have tended to be unnecessarily irritating, so that—human nature being what it is—those who, like most of us, agree with many tenets of the school were sometimes driven into wholesale opposition. One can differ from Mr. Foerster's chapter without being stirred to resentment.

In his brief introduction to *American Critical Essays*, a new volume of the *World's Classics Series*, Professor Foerster attempts some concise definitions and some practical groupings. He establishes the word "naturists" as a term for "the allied forces of the romanticists, realists, and naturalists." The chief groups of critics as he sees them today are: "those who concern themselves specially with the literary foreground and those who concern themselves specially with the background of ideas that must sustain literature." Under the former he classes the *impressionists*, from whom he chooses as a modern American representative Lewis E. Gates, and the *expressionists* whom he represents by J. E. Spingarn. The second group he divides into the new *nationalists*, founded by Randolph Bourne, and the *humanists*, who, he confidently if parenthetically remarks, are "the only group that offers a constructive programme of ideas." Other distinctions and classifications help the student to see the relationships of critics represented by selections, who are: Poe, Emerson, Lowell, Whitman, Howells, James, Lewis E. Gates, George E. Woodberry, W. C. Brownell, Irving Babbitt, Paul Elmer More, Prosser Hall Frye, J. E. Spingarn, Stuart P. Sherman, Van Wyck Brooks. The list will probably be as acceptable as any of equal length is likely to be. The choice of selections is more liable to question—e.g., "The Poetic Principle"

from Poe, and "Montaigne" from Emerson; but on such matters there can never be even approximate agreement.

W. B. CAIRNS.

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GLEANINGS IN EUROPE (ENGLAND). By James Fenimore Cooper. Edited by Robert E. Spiller. New York: The Oxford University Press. 1930. xxiv, 408 pp. \$3.50.

The republishing of James Fenimore Cooper's miscellaneous writings is an enterprise which reflects credit upon the workmanship of the Oxford University Press and the editing of Professor Robert E. Spiller. Although the novels have been published in hundreds of cheap editions, most of the non-fictional writings have never been reprinted. *The History of the Navy of the United States of America* (1839), a standard history of the navy, has been republished; *The Chronicles of Cooperstown* (1838), has been republished in the histories of Cooperstown by Livermore (1862), Shaw (1886), and The Freeman's Journal Company (1929). Last summer an introduction to an unpublished manuscript by Cooper was privately printed under the title of *New York*, with a foreword by Dixon Ryan Fox.

*England* is the second volume of *Gleanings in Europe*, following *France*, which was republished in 1928. Students of Cooper hope that the Oxford University Press and Professor Spiller will soon republish the volumes on Italy and Switzerland.

This book of "gleanings" covers a period of only four months in the winter and spring of 1828, and was published nine years later. We believe that Cooper wrote the sketches in 1828 and revised them in 1837 before publication. Professor Spiller's Introduction gives evidence concerning this point and other matters which the student wishes to know. He tells us that Cooper went to England in February, 1828, especially to see his publishers, and that business concerns kept him in London until spring. Cooper's lodgings in St. James Place made a choice vantage point for observation, for "most of the great houses of the nobility were within a radius of half a mile." Among the nobility were Lord Holland, "a man of liberal views, sterling integrity, warm friendships, and keen forensic mind"; Lady Holland, whose salons were marked by witty epigrams; and Lord Charles Grey, the veteran Whig leader of parliamentary reform. In the mansions of these peers and in other hospitable homes, Cooper met such men as Samuel Rogers, who was a cultivated, retired business man; William Spencer, "an indolent wit and fashionable poet," who introduced Cooper to the group; Sir James Mack-



intosh, the philosopher; William Sotheby, a translator of Homer; Sir Walter Scott; and other notables.

Professor Spiller tells us about these hosts who entertained Cooper and adds an analysis of Cooper's character, an explanation of his anti-British attitude, and an exposition of the travel books of 1825-1845. All of this is very valuable, and we can only wish that Professor Spiller's editorial comments were even more extensive. As in the *France*, the biographical sketches of the many persons to whom Cooper wrote his letters should be given. Every student of Cooper knows of Captain W. B. Shubrick, Richard Cooper, and William Jay, but we should like to know something of the Mrs. H. H. Comstock, to whom Cooper wrote about the manners and dress of "your sex" in London, and about other unfamiliar correspondents.

Very valuable are these reflections of Cooper as the keen observer, whose mind retained impressions with (to use his own phrase) "daguerreotype fidelity"; as the shrewd judge of men and affairs; as the outspoken critic of England, whose concluding comment was that England was "a country that all respect, but few love"; as the vigorous defender of the United States, whose astonishing code of action and speech was that "politeness has few claims when principles are concerned." The reading of this and other miscellaneous writings will aid us to understand the real James Fenimore Cooper, who is not the Cooper of Greeley or Mark Twain, or even of Lounsbury or Brownell.

In his admirable essay on Cooper, W. C. Brownell wrote that "there is one aspect of his contribution to literature that makes American neglect of Cooper's merits and his fame incomprehensible on any creditable grounds. That aspect is as varied as it is salient, but from its every facet is reflected in the *rational aggrandizement of America*." In *England* there is abundant evidence of Cooper's militant Americanism, and the various incidents revealing it are the salty meats of the travel sketches. For instance, having settled down comfortably in his apartment in London, on the second night he is impelled to reward some rogues under his window, who, after singing several tunes without success, struck up "Yankee Doodle." "It is something," the novelist comments, "to have taught John Bull that we take pride in that tune." When he asks a guide in Westminster Abbey about the rascal that had knocked off the heads of Washington and other American officers, in a bas-relief forming part of André's monument, she replies, "*Some American* has done it, no doubt." Cooper comments, "So you perceive that we are not only accused of hanging our enemies, but of beheading our friends!" Confident of his ability to speak English as well as an Englishman, Cooper

is surprised, and probably enraged, when Lady Holland asks him where "he had learned to speak so good English." After conversations with his hosts about such subjects as the lack of an established church and the peculiar voting methods in the States, Cooper remarks, "I would strenuously urge on every American who really loves the institutions of his country, never to make any concessions to mere politeness, on these topics, when actually required to say anything in England. Indeed, politeness has few claims when principles are concerned."

Sensitive of the British scorn of Americans, he enjoys invitations to Lord Grey's mansion, of which he says that "his house is one of the few in England, in which something has not occurred to make me feel that I am not a foreigner, but *an American*."

In Scott's writings he sees anti-democratic teachings which will harm American political institutions. These sentences show that he was a keen critic: "These very works of Sir Walter Scott are replete with one species of danger to the American readers; and the greater the talents of the writer, as a matter of course, the greater is the evil. The bias of his feelings, of his prejudices, I might almost say of his nature, is deference to hereditary rank. . . . Sir Walter Scott may be right, but if he is right our system is radically wrong, and one of the first duties of a political scheme is to protect itself. . . . His talents are a gift from nature, while his notions are the result of social position."

After visits to the House of Commons and the House of Lords, he estimates the speaking in the American Congress as superior. "I do not believe," he says, "that the average speaking of parliament is any better than that of the state of New York. . . . I believe that one hundred men can be found in congress, who would, in an emergency, make better extemporaneous speeches, than one hundred of the best speakers in the House of Commons. As between the House of Lords and the Senate, when the relative numbers are considered, there is no comparison."

After commenting on the morbid interest of the English masses in the affairs of the aristocracy, represented by an article in the London press, as to "the manner in which Lord A. and Lady B. and Sir Thomas C. had passed their mornings," he expresses his satisfaction that "the mass of the American people care no more for a lord, than they care for a wood-chuck."

Praise of the abstract principles of democracy is much warmer in this book of 1837 than in his writings ten years later, when Cooper distrusted the leadership of the masses under majority rule. "Democracy," he says, "has no necessary connection with vulgarity, but it merely means that

men shall have equal political rights. . . . The inherent sense of right, which is implanted in every man by nature, and which becomes conscience in moral things, may be safely confided in, as the surest means of regulating the deportment of the different castes of society towards each other."

Cooper is probably speaking of himself, in 1837, after he had received much hostile criticism, in the following statement:

A friend of yours has been accused of national vanity, and national conceit (an odd charge, by the way, for I question if there is a man in the whole republic who prides himself less in the national character, than the person in question), because he has endeavoured to repel and refute some of the grosser imputations that artifice and prejudice, in this quarter of the world, have been studiously and industriously heaping on us; and the simple circumstance that, in so doing, he has conflicted a little with English supremacy, has been the means of destroying whatever favour he may once have possessed with the American *reading* public, as a writer; for England, at this moment, holds completely at her mercy the reputation and character of every American she may choose to assail, who is not supported by the *bulk* of his own nation.

Here may be the chief reason why Cooper respected but did not love England.

In 1837, when *Gleanings in Europe* reached the editorial sanctum of *The North American Review*, then published in Boston, Francis Bowen, a reviewer and later editor, dipped his patriotic pen deep, and sputtered forth vituperative condemnation against such books. He said that "its meagreness is such, as to render it difficult to tell what it does contain. . . . We sympathize heartily with Mr. Cooper's pride of country, and preference of republican institutions, while we judge, from his book, that his exhibition of these feelings abroad was unseasonable, excessive, and in very bad taste."

In 1931, after nearly a century, we know how maliciously unjust this criticism was and we are ready to read and confirm James Fenimore Cooper's criticisms of England and America.

GREGORY PAINE.

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DIE ENGLISCHE LITERATUR DER VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON NORDAMERIKA.

Von Dr. Walther Fischer. Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, M. B. H. 1929. 134 pp.

The friendly service to American literature at present rendered in France by Professor Cestre finds a German parallel in the work of Professor Walther Fischer, of the University of Giessen, whose *Amerikanische Prosa, 1863-1922* (1926) and survey of American literary history are reported to be widely read. These volumes were of course designed for

Professor Fischer's own countrymen, and American students consulting them should bear in mind the practical purpose they were intended to serve. *Die Englische Literatur der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* represents no original research, nor is it a fresh, independent commentary like that of Karl Bleibtreu or Adolf Stern or Leon Kellner, critics who plunged boldly into the task of exploring the field of American literature and of reporting, largely unaided, what they found. Rather, it is a well ordered introductory survey, making use of the researches of American scholars, and reflecting many estimates which have now become conventional. Judged as a textbook, which it first of all is, the volume is commendable, despite certain inadequacies in the concluding sections. It contains a more even and better rounded account of the subject than that of Ewald Flügel, in the revised edition of Wülker's *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur* (1907), and a much fuller account than that of Johannes Scherr, in his *Illustrierte Geschichte der Weltliteratur* (1926).

The part of the work dealing with the period from the beginning to 1865 is better than that which follows. In writing of the earlier years Professor Fischer evidently found the task lighter because of the labors of many predecessors; and his account is well organized and praiseworthy for its just discrimination among the major and minor authors. It reflects an up-to-date knowledge of the scholarly writings in the field and an acquaintance with many present-day critical estimates. Much emphasis, for example, is placed on Herman Melville. The author appears to have read the volumes of Krutch, Phillips, and Allen on Poe. There is a whole section devoted to the literature of the Middle West before 1865, based on the valuable study of Professor Rusk. This is not to say that Professor Fischer has slavishly followed the American historians and critics, but rather that he has made conscientious and careful use of their publications. He writes always as a German, aware of an audience which, like himself, will view the United States as a foreign land. To this audience he points out the frequent interplay of European and American literary influences. Carl Schurz is named as the German immigrant, the fugitive "forty-eighter." Bayard Taylor is introduced as, first of all, the translator of *Faust*. Moreover, enough information on the social and political background is offered to make the account of the years before 1865 meaningful to beginning students.

After the period of the Civil War has been passed, however, the treatment of the subject becomes less satisfactory. That this should be so seems altogether natural, in view of the great increase in the number of writers and the nearness of the time under consideration. Professor Fis-

cher was unwise in attempting to discuss the years from 1865 to the present as a unit, and certainly in not handling the period after 1912 separately. He sometimes fails to emphasize sufficiently the changing literary fashions and developments, and to indicate the relation of one author or group of authors to another, especially when the authors belong to recent years. John Gould Fletcher, for instance, and Louis Untermeyer are not shown in their true light as pioneer critics of modern poetry. Emily Dickinson is treated with the poets of the era before 1865, although, to be sure, the influence of her work on later poets is suggested. Another fault with the last part of the survey is that many of the pages are too crowded with names, titles, dates, and that several important figures, like Gertrude Atherton and Ernest Hemingway, are but barely named. This shortcoming, however, should not be overstressed surely. The need of saving space no doubt handicapped the author; and it is obviously unfair to blame a foreign critic for failure to know intimately every contemporary writer in this country when the task has proved too great for most American students themselves. Everything considered, Professor Fischer's knowledge of even contemporary literature commands respect. He never pauses long over an author who is unimportant; and his remarks on individual works and men are sound.

As a whole the book is one which German students may confidently trust as an introductory guide to the literature of the United States.

JOHN HERBERT NELSON.

The University of Kansas.

WHITTIER'S USE OF THE BIBLE. By James Stacy Stevens. (University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 16.) Orono, Maine. 1930. 103 pp.

Mr. Stevens has attempted a task that has long needed to be done, but one which he has by no means completed. His study consists of a catalogue of biblical allusions in Whittier's poetry and a three-page introduction which points out similar investigations for other literary men and indicates in a general way the value of such a study. Even a casual reader of Whittier is aware of his prodigious number of biblical allusions, but a complete catalogue of them would be of tremendous value to the Whittier specialist. According to Professor Stevens's count, Whittier derived most of his biblical inspiration from the Gospels, Genesis, Revelation, Exodus, respectively, and very little from Job, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and other books of Hebrew poetry (aside from the Psalms).

But before we accept Professor Stevens's conclusions, let us notice his study of "John Underhill," for which he records *ten* allusions. The fol-

lowing *ten* he overlooked: "Now, as God appointeth, I keep my way, I shall not stumble, I shall not stray."—*Ps.* 23. 3. "He coveted not his neighbor's land."—*Ex.* 20. 17. "And smote the heathen with Gideon's sword!"—*Jud.* 7. 14. 18. But the heart is deceitful, the good Book saith."—*Jer.* 17. 9. "From the holding of bribes he shook his hand."—*Is.* 33. 15. "He shook from his feet as he rode away The dust of Massachusetts Bay."—*Math.* 10. 14; *Mark* 6. 11; *Luke* 9. 5; *Acts* 13. 51. "I felt from the law of works released."—*Gal.* 3. 10. 13. "He chargeth His angels with folly; He sees the heavens unclean."—*Job* 15. 15. "I wear the Robe of His righteousness."—*Job* 29. 14. "He hath taken away my fig-leaf dress."—*Gen.* 3. 7.

From poems not in Mr. Stevens's index there are such oversights as: "My Psalm": "The manna dropping from God's hand."—*Ex.* 16. 14. "What of the Day": "Even so, Father! Let Thy will be done."—*Math.* 6. 10. and others. "Lines on the Portrait of a Celebrated Publisher":<sup>1</sup> "The braying of the prophet's ass Betrayed the angel's menace!"—*Num.* 22. 23 ff. "Doomed like Assyria's lord of old, Who fell before the Jew-ess."—*Jud.* 4. 21. "Or sad Abimelech, to sigh, 'Alas! a woman slew us!'"—*1 Sam.* 11. 21. "The Bartholdi Statue":<sup>1</sup> "Unlike the shapes on Egypt's sands, Uplifted by the toil-worn slave."—*Ex.* 1. 12-14. And from "Hymn" (for Anti-Slavery Society):<sup>1</sup> "As with Thy chosen moved of yore, The first by night, the cloud by day."—*Ex.* 13. 21. These illustrations have been chosen entirely at random. A complete list of the oversights would be too long to print here.

Of course in tracing down allusions it is often exceedingly difficult to distinguish the intentional allusion from the merely accidental similarity of phrase, but the omissions indicated above are as indisputable as any recorded in the study. It must be admitted that Mr. Stevens makes no statement concerning the completeness of his investigation, but in the absence of such statement we should assume his study to be exhaustive; furthermore, since everyone knows in a general way of Whittier's wide use of the Bible, such a study as this can have scholarly value only in its exhaustiveness.

We must conclude, therefore, that Professor's Stevens's statistics are not to be relied upon—but perhaps the premature publication of his study will inspire him or someone else to make a thorough investigation of Whittier's use of the Bible.

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<sup>1</sup> These three poems are not included in the original Osgood "Household Edition" (1877), but there are in the Houghton Mifflin "H. Ed." (1904), which Mr. Stevens says he used.

OUTLINE STUDIES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. Compiled by John E. Flitcroft. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1930.

COURSES OF READING IN AMERICAN LITERATURE, *with bibliographies*. Arranged and Edited by Stanley T. Williams and Nelson F. Adkins. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1930.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By William B. Cairns. Revised Edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1930.

The interest which has recently been awakened in the national letters was bound to bring forth a series of abstracts, study-devices, and outlines. The above-mentioned "helps" are rather better than the average, though each in its way leaves somewhat to be desired. Dr. Flitcroft has compiled an outline from the leading secondary books in the field, one which includes brief critical judgments. The syllabus by Professors Williams and Adkins is bibliographical altogether. The well-known history by Professor Cairns is the most inclusive of the three, and appears now with an added hundred pages which bring that decorous narrative down to date.

It may be questioned whether an outline of outlines like Flitcroft's has much to offer the student, but it must be admitted that for so small a book there is a surprisingly adequate amount of information, conveyed with general accuracy and good perspective. It does not, for example, include so many figures of merely historical importance as were mentioned in the *Syllabus of American Literature* by W. T. Hastings; yet even so one wonders what may be the significance to undergraduates of such names as Peter Markoe, George D. Prentice, William D. Gallagher, and others. *The Mysterious Stranger* should not have been omitted from the list of works by Mark Twain, though the omission is not so serious as that of *Huckleberry Finn* in the Williams-Adkins compilation.

This last-named work was designed as a handbook for courses in American literature at Yale and has since been elaborated to include besides the names of authors, the names of selections representative as to form as well as content, and divisions into periods, or "courses." To quote from the Preface, "Occasionally, accessibility of a text has influenced a decision, as in the case of the early drama, but in general the test for inclusion has been intrinsic worth." In the main, the works named are representative. If there is a weakness in selection it is chiefly in the field of fiction, where, for example, *The Breadwinners* and *Saracinesca* are omitted from the work of John Hay and Marion Crawford, respectively, and where *Israel Potter* is preferred to *Redburn*, or *A Modern Instance* to *The Rise of Silas Lapham*. The earlier portions of the book

still cling to Tyler's standards in including writers like William Wood, John Mason, and Urian Oakes; to be consistent, the book ought later to mention a host of writers like John Quincy Adams, Frederic Douglass, or Carl Schurz. Advanced students will value most highly the painstaking work through which the dates of composition and publication of many titles that appear in the lists have been supplied. These dates, which appear unobtrusively in footnotes, have often been obtained with much difficulty from scattered records. If a revision is contemplated, there should be added: Prescott and Nelson's *Prose and Poetry of the Revolution*, page 31; one sea-novel by Cooper, page 35; *Further Poems* by Emily Dickinson, page 102; *Strange Interlude*, page 148.

Professor Cairns's invaluable history has been before the public since 1912 and is sufficiently well known not to require a thorough-going review here. So far as I have been able to observe, the "revision" of this book concerns only the last two chapters, which are largely in the nature of "addition." In this portion the author abandons his geographical classification of writers and discusses them according to their favorite literary form. "I incline to conservatism," the author says frankly in his prefatory note, a statement which finds confirmation in his opposition to writers like Norris and Crane, and to naturalism generally, though it hardly accounts for his tolerance for London and Dreiser. To this reviewer the sketch of Emily Dickinson seems inadequate; and an otherwise intelligent discussion of Howells underrates that author's social interests. Young students may get their sense of chronology askew when Dreiser is discussed before Cable, or when, as in the Williams-Adkins book, authors are arranged according to chronology of birth, and Emily Dickinson is put ahead of Louisa M. Alcott, who won her fame three decades earlier. But the advanced student will not be seriously disturbed by these matters, and for him there is no single reference book in the field that is more useful than Cairns's *History of American Literature*.

ERNEST E. LEISY.

Southern Methodist University.

THE NEW CRITICISM: *An anthology of Modern Aesthetics and Literary Criticism*. Edited by Edwin Berry Burgum. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1930. ix, 359 pp.

For the increasing company of those inclined to taste æsthetics, but who are as yet ignorant of its groundwork, this collection of nineteen cuttings ought to be an attractive and convenient starting-point for further reading. The value of the little book lies in its manifold and even



conflicting invitations, its up-to-dateness, and its compact little bibliography.

The choice of authors and arrangement of material show tolerance of different points of view and a good sense of order. The book appropriately begins—since it presents *new* criticism—with three presentations of Croceanism. The editor follows up this solid beginning with the weight of the scholarship and traditionalism of Bosanquet and Santayana. But he balances this conservative section with the clear contemporary note of Spengler, Roger Fry, and Richards. There is even one interesting contribution from a writer outside the field of the humanities looking in, "Science and Theology as Art Forms," by J. B. S. Haldane, the biochemist. Altogether, though no other editor would have duplicated the list, the selection is stimulating and effective.

But there are two generalizations about the anthology in the preface that are somewhat puzzling. Mr. Burgum writes that while he has imposed no artificial unity on his material, "the authors of these papers are at one in their general point of view" (p. v). Without being finical, one is yet at a loss to discover this alleged unity. Confusion of pattern with plastic form "distorts the vision and vitiates criticism," writes Mr. Buermeyer of Mr. Fry's method (*Journal of the Barnes Foundation*, II, 1, p. 34). Mr. Haldane's thesis that science and theology are art forms would for Croce contradict the very beginnings of a sound æsthetic. And Bosanquet considered Croce's attitude on the artist's medium a fundamental blunder and the offspring of a "lean idealism." So one might continue to exhibit the radical diversity of opinion among the authors given. The bond holding them together would seem to be as nebulous as the transcendental unity of that outworn dialectic from which Mr. Burgum, representing "pragmatism and the empirical method of psychology," declares himself free.

The second query relates to the statement: "These names suggest that the problems of æsthetics are at present being most intelligently discussed in France and England" (p. vii). What is one to do, then, with Wölfflin, Worringer, Panofsky, and Müller-Freienfels, to mention only a few of the "intelligent" contemporary German art-critics and æstheticians? And why leave out Italy when half the paragraph is consumed in telling how Croce said the first word in the new movement and started the whole ferment? Nine out of the nineteen numbers were written by others than Frenchmen or Englishmen.

Mr. Burgum speaks of his subject as new. In a sense all subjects to which we come with interest are new in our own generation. But that is only a half-truth. The utterance of Mr. Eliot quoted on page 293 about

creative art is even truer when applied to reflective criticism: "No poet, no artist, of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast, and comparison, among the dead." Croce, Bosanquet, Santayana, Sullivan, Fry lose much of their value and significance when cut off from the background of Plato, Vico, Plotinus, Schopenhauer, Herbart.

KATHERINE GILBERT.

Duke University.

Mrs. SIGOURNEY: *The Sweet Singer of Hartford*. By Gordon S. Haight. New Haven, Conn.: The Yale University Press. \$3.00.

Mr. Haight's Preface is a confession of the hope and disappointment of a critical biographer and of his emergence into a social historian. He had hoped that among her poems some few pieces would establish Mrs. Sigourney's right to the reputation she enjoyed for half a century as America's leading poetess. But before reading many of her forty-odd volumes, he was forced to agree that posterity had judged fairly in denying her claim. He thus found himself in the curious position of a biographer who had to keep his eyes and mind off his subject in order to save himself from a boredom too deep for tears. Looking for an escape, he began to wonder how she had achieved her reputation, and came to the conclusion that because her poems were the most popular of her day therefore they are as bad as they are. The pursuit of this question, however, revealed Mrs. Sigourney's wide acquaintance with famous people both at home and abroad. In thus diverting his attention from the poems to the background of the poet and to her circle, the author came successfully, even triumphantly into his own.

Mrs. Sigourney was a popular religious poet of her day, which means not only that she sweetly versified Holy Writ but she improved upon it for her special purpose by adding an incalculable amount of mawkish sentimentality. As a woman she was more than as a poet—shrewd, kindly, generous, but as utterly undistinguished. There was no internal conflict, and the same lady who composed the verses seems to have enjoyed reading them.

Although unmemorable herself, Mrs. Sigourney had acquaintance among the celebrated and distinguished. Mr. Haight's pages abound in new and refreshing silhouettes (we wish there were more) of such figures as Jane Carlyle, Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Southey, Sarah Hale, Emma Willard, Park Benjamin, R. W. Griswold, and Theodore Dwight.

The book is carefully documented with index, bibliography, and notes, and it is delightfully written.

LEWIS CHASE.

Duke University.

MODERN AMERICAN POETRY: *A Critical Anthology*. Edited by Louis Untermeyer. Fourth Revised Edition. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company. 1930. 850 pp.

The fourth revised edition of *Modern American Poetry* by Louis Untermeyer, like the previous edition, bears the subtitle "A Critical Anthology." Had the adjective been *comprehensive*, rather than *critical*, there would be little fault to find. Comprehensive it certainly is. Twenty-eight poets are represented, who were not found in the previous edition, which appeared in 1925, while the number of poems increased from four hundred and eighty to seven hundred and thirty. On the whole this increase may be commended, for several of the more outstanding names are represented by a larger number of poems, while at the same time the biographical notes on each have been brought up to date. Also many of the newcomers are here deservedly, and since a few of these were conspicuously absent in the third edition, one must take for granted that the editor underwent a change of critical judgment, or that he was simply induced by prevalent, popular opinion to include them. Since, however, his critical notes on some of these are more apologetic than critical, one is compelled to accept the latter alternative.

Among the newcomers are: James Whaler, Robinson Jeffers, Archibald MacLeish, Malcolm Cowley, H. Phelps Putnam, Robert Hillyer, Clinch Calkins, Allen Tate, Hart Crane, Merrill Moore, George Dillon, most of whom came to the foreground in recent years. Among the poets no longer living one meets here for the first time: Helen Hunt Jackson, John Burroughs, Roswell Field, and Trumbull Stickney, who certainly could not have increased in worth since the appearance of the last edition. At least three of those named have been appearing in other popular anthologies published more recently, thus no doubt forfeiting a chance for exclusion here.

In spite of this increase in new poets, a few names come readily to mind, which are in vain sought in this edition. One could name Yvor Winters, Wallace Gould, Marrienne Moore, Isador Schneider, Laura Riding, Stanley Kunitz, and a few others, but since Mr. Untermeyer in his foreword, foresaw possible criticism on exclusions, it may hardly be fair to name them at all. Where, however, so many names were added, it is

singular that very few who appeared in the third edition have been dropped from this one. Among the living there are only Marion Strobel and Mary Carolyn Davies. The natural conclusion is that Mr. Untermeyer has certainly become more critically comprehensive, but hardly more acute.

Admirable in contents as this volume is, and informative, it is on the critical score that several defects are noticeable. As long as the editor confines himself to biographical facts, or to the reiteration of the more popular critical opinions on some of the outstanding poets represented, one has little of cavil. However, the cautious, wary, and apologetic notes appended to some of the poets, especially the more unorthodox, force one again to choose between two opinions. Either the editor is waiting for more popular acclaim for these writers before he cares to commit himself frankly, or he compromises with his own desire to exclude them and the current expectation to see them represented. Some of these more unorthodox "experimental" poets are accordingly represented by some of their weaker and more conventional poems, at the expense of their own real worth, and to the detriment and misinformation of unsuspecting readers. Since, however, much of this criticism is relevant to all anthologies in general, it may be just to admire this one wholly for its other qualities.

DAVID CORNEL DEJONG.

Duke University.

GOLDEN TALES OF THE OLD SOUTH. Selected by May Lamberton Becker. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1930. \$2.50.

*Golden Tales of the Old South*, we learn from the editor's introduction, follows as "a matter of course" *Golden Tales of Our America* because such a collection has its uses, "not only as entertainment for the present but as documentation of the past." We learn further, "The purpose in gathering these Golden Tales—a purpose lightly held but never forgotten—has been to present to Americans of today some aspects of life in an America that has ceased to be. . . ." In so far as the editor has adhered to her expressed purpose she has selected tales and sketches that, while hardly "documentation of the past," are glimpses of the South in the nineteenth century as seen by shrewd observers. Many readers will mark titles to be looked for on the next visit to a second-hand book-store. The book is sensible in plan and attractive in format. Each story is preceded by a sketch, more suggestive than informative, of its author; and at the end of each selection are the name and date of the book or periodical from which it was taken.

Unfortunately, however, the editor has held her purpose very lightly indeed. We find included, for instance, Poe's "The Balloon Hoax," which is a documentation of little besides Edgar Allan Poe and sensational journalism in New York. Besides, George W. Bagby's "Jud Browning's Account of Rubenstein's Playing" has more to do with high-school auditoriums than with the Old South. One who feels a native interest in the Old South finishes the volume with a great deal of disappointment and a bit of shame until he realizes how much that is good has been left out. The editor seems to have chosen what is quaint, sentimental, or primitive rather than what is truly representative.

The editor has slighted the Old South further by including a large number of stories that are recent in both writing and setting. Pernet Patterson's "Buttin' Blood" is one of the best stories in the volume, but, then, a story of modern Virginia tobacco farming should not be in the volume at all. One is likewise surprised at seeing stories by Don Marquis, Maristan Chapman, and Alice Hegan Rice. The modern mountaineer may be like his ancestors but he is not representative of the Old South; yet he is given much more space than the ante-bellum plantation. The poor-white type in general is given much more than his share of attention. This book is interesting in parts, but it will help neither an outsider nor a native to a better understanding of the Old South.

HAMPTON M. JARRELL.

Duke University.

### BRIEF MENTION

ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS ON THOMAS COOPER. By Maurice Kelley. (University of Maine Studies, second series, No. 15) Orono, Maine: The University of Maine Press. 1930.

Mr. Kelley supplements the biographical researches on Cooper of Dumas Malone (*Public Life of Thomas Cooper*, New Haven, 1925) and of Milton Ellis (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, XIX, 27) by taking up for more thorough consideration certain phases of the life and thought of the eminent Anglo-American liberal. Mr. Kelley brings to light pamphlet material dealing with problems of religion and politics, and delves into Cooper's contributions to periodicals. An interesting aspect of Cooper's opinions is his volte-face on the subject of slavery. As a young man he was a leader among the English abolitionists; in his old age among the South Carolina planters he was a defender of slavery. In the appendix to this work is a reprint of a rare pamphlet, a letter from Cooper to Burke attacking the latter's stand on liberal legislation.

Duke University.

LEWIS PATTON.

EMERSON AND BEYOND: *Essays toward a Philosophy*. By William Yerington. Columbus, O.: The Ohio State University Press. 1929. 106 pp.

The volume comprises six chapters on such topics as "The Cult of the Best," "The New Morality," "Religion as Poetry," "The Eternal News," "The Adventure of Faith," and "The New Supernaturalism." The first chapter, "Emerson and the Open Future," is an interesting example of Emerson's power to stimulate pseudo-philosophical speculation in a man who believes that life is "superbly unrational." However, there is very little in the volume that is likely to attract the attention of Emerson specialists.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

Duke University.

THE RELIGION OF JOHN BURROUGHS. By Clifford H. Osborne. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. x, 105 pp.

*The Religion of John Burroughs* contains a large number of quotations from the writings of the naturalist which are calculated to illustrate various aspects of his religion. In selecting them Mr. Osborne has done a service to students of Burroughs. But his attempts to generalize have been vitiated by a lack of knowledge of the background of Burroughs's thought and a failure to organize his material in a more logical fashion. Although the statement is made that Whitman was "his Christ," there is little attempt to show how closely Burroughs followed the religious dicta of the heretic who penned *Leaves of Grass*.

C. G.

OVERLAND IN A COVERED WAGON: *An Autobiography*. By Joaquin Miller. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 130 pp. 1930. \$2.00.

A reprint in convenient and attractive form of the introduction which Miller wrote for the complete edition of his poems.

LITERATURE AND OCCULT TRADITION: *Studies in Philosophical Poetry*. By Denis Saurat. Translated from the French by Dorothy Bolton. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh: The Dial Press. 1930. 230 pp. \$4.00.

Professor Saurat, whose studies of Milton and Blake are well known, has written a general study of the relations between occultism and English poetry. The latter part of the book deals with Edmund Spenser. Several references to Emerson and Whitman indicate that a similar study of American poetry might produce interesting results.

COLLECTED POEMS OF ROBERT FROST. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1930. 349 pp. \$5.00.

This very attractive volume contains six new poems in addition to those already published in *A Boy's Will*, *North of Boston*, *Mountain Interval*, *New Hampshire*, and *West-running Brook*.

A LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ATLAS OF AMERICA. By J. G. Bartholomew. Revised by Samuel McKee. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1930. xiii, 242 pp. \$1.25.

In his revision of this well-known volume in the Everyman's Library Professor McKee has made changes in the original edition of 1911 "to make it conform to recent interpretations of American history." Few of the maps were designed for the student of American literature, but two features of the book are useful: "A Gazetteer of Towns and Places in America Having a Literary or Historic Interest" (pp. 137-166) and a list of "Contributors to the Literature of the United States" (pp. 167-173).

ADVENTURES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. Edited by H. C. Schweikert, Rewey Belle Inglis, and John Gehlmann. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1930. xviii, 1065 pp. \$2.12 List Price.

A combination of anthology and literary history intended for the senior high school. "The editors . . . have attempted a reinterpretation of our national literature in accordance with the ideas advanced by these specialists [the contributors to *The Reinterpretation of American Literature*], but adapted to the interest and understanding of high school students." Some useful features of the book are: (1) so far as possible complete texts are given instead of extracts; (2) the selections are arranged according to type; and (3) certain types not usually included are added: biography, drama, humorous prose, folk literature, etc. A much better book than many that are used in the high school.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH, No. 10. The University of Texas Bulletin, No. 3026, July 8, 1930. 154 pp. \$1.00.

The first seventy pages of the volume deal with Elizabethan writers; the last eighty largely with Poe. The various articles are "Poe's Debt to Coleridge," by Floyd Stovall; "Notes on Poe's Sources," by Lucille King; "Some Observations of Poe's Origins," by Robert Lee Rhea; "A Note on Poe's 'Julius Rodman,'" by H. Arlin Turner; and "A Bit of Chiversian Mystification," by Killis Campbell. Particularly notable is Professor Sto-

vall's thorough-going study (pp. 70-127) of Poe's indebtedness to Coleridge's criticism.

THE NEW REGIONALISM IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. (University of Washington Chapbooks, No. 46.) By Carey McWilliams. Seattle, Wash.: The University of Washington Book Store. 1930. 39 pp. \$0.65.

An interesting brief account of the movement followed by some criticism of it.

FOLK-SAY: *A Regional Miscellany*, 1930. Edited by B. A. Botkin. Norman, Okla.: The University of Oklahoma Press. 1930. 473 pp.

This, the second annual volume of the Oklahoma Folk-lore Society, is like the first but even better in quality and somewhat larger and less Oklahoman. Unlike most folk-lore collections, this is primarily literary. The contributors come from all over the country: Langston Hughes, Frank G. Applegate, Barrett H. Clark, Louise Pound, Carl Sandburg, Guy B. Johnson, Archer Taylor, Stanley Vestal, and others.

MAN, BIRD, AND BEAST: *Publications of the Texas Folk-lore Society*, Volume VIII, 1930. Edited by J. Frank Dobie. Austin, Texas: The Texas Folk-lore Society. 185 pp. \$2.00.

"I look for two things in folk-lore," says Professor Dobie in his preface. "I look for flavor and I look for a revelation of the folk who nourished the lore." This volume is rich in both. Particularly interesting to students of American literature are Ernest E. Leisy's "Jesse Holmes, the 'Fool-killer'" and Professor L. W. Payne's "Recent Research in Balladry and Folk-songs."

THE NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY AND RESTORATION OF MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON. Boston: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. vi, 86 pp. \$1.25.

"The present edition is copied from that of Mr. Henry Stedman Nourse and Colonel John Eliot Thayer, of Lancaster, which was photographically reproduced from the rudely printed and badly damaged copy belonging to John Cotton, now preserved in the Prince Collection of the Boston Public Library. . . .

"This republication of the Narrative was suggested by a group of public-spirited gentlemen of Lancaster as a part of that town's celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized, but the text adheres to the edition of 1682." (Preface, by Frederick Lewis Weis.)



POEMS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. By a Gentleman of Virginia. Reproduced from the Edition of 1736. With a Bibliographical Note by Ralph L. Rusk. New York: The Facsimile Text Society. 1930. vii, 30 pp.

The Facsimile Text Society has done a real service to American literature scholarship by reprinting one of the earliest—and scarcest—volumes of Colonial poetry from the probably unique copy in the Library of the Boston Athenæum which bears George Washington's signature on the title page. No one knows who "the Gentleman of Virginia" was, but it seems a little strange that in view of the excellent quality of most of his poems, he has not (I think) been represented in any of our anthologies. It is to be hoped that subscribers to *American Literature* will show some appreciation of the work done by Professor F. A. Patterson, of Columbia University (Executive Officer of the Society), and his associates by subscribing to those volumes which fall within their field.

ESSAYS IN CRITICISM. By Members of the Department of English, University of California. (University of California Publications in English, Volume I.) Berkeley, Calif.: The University of California Press. 1929. 261 pp.

"This, the first volume of the University of California Publications in English, is a collection of essays all of which attack problems of literary criticism. The contributors to the volume, meeting as a group, have commented frankly upon each essay, but the individual author remains solely responsible for what he has said and for the manner in which he has chosen to say it." (Prefatory Note.) Readers of *American Literature* will be particularly interested in Professor T. K. Whipple's "Poetry and Morals" and Professor George R. Potter's "William Beebe: His Significance to Literature."

REDBURN: *His First Voyage*. By Herman Melville. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1930. \$1.00.

THE PIAZZA TALES. By Herman Melville. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1930. \$1.00.

Recent additions to Mr. Smith's "Modern Editions at One Dollar" series; they contain no editorial apparatus.

CAN SUCH THINGS BE? By Ambrose Bierce. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. \$1.00.

THE MONK AND THE HANGMAN'S DAUGHTER. By Adolphe Danziger de Castro and Ambrose Bierce. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. \$1.00. 1930.

Recent additions to "The Travellers' Library." The second of these volumes contains also "Fantastic Fables."

THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT. *A History of its First Hundred Years.* By Joseph Edgar Chamberlin. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. vi, 241 pp.

An editorial writer on the *Transcript* reviews the hundred years of its history, with some attention to literary matters, especially in Chapters III, VI, VIII, and XVIII.

A CHECK LIST OF BOOKS IN THE JULIAN WILLIS ABERNETHY LIBRARY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont. Compiled by Harriet Smith Potter, Curator. 238 pp.

The most important single unit of the collection deals with Thoreau and includes some manuscript material.

THE KATHERINE R. VAN KIRK MEMORIAL COLLECTION OF AMERICAN LITERATURE: *Notes and Bibliography.* Prepared by Ray M. Lawless, Professor of English, Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, South Dakota. (Dakota Wesleyan University Bulletin, September, 1930.)

GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY, 1855-1930: *An Appreciation.* By John Erskine. A LIST OF WRITINGS, BY AND ABOUT HIM. Compiled by R. R. Hawkins. New York: The New York Public Library. 1930. 24 pp.

STEPHEN CRANE: *A List of his Writings and Articles about him.* Compiled by B. J. R. Stolper, for the Stephen Crane Association. Published for the Stephen Crane Association by the Public Library of Newark, N. J. 1930. 30 pp.

BOOKS OF UPTON SINCLAIR IN TRANSLATIONS AND FOREIGN EDITIONS: *A Bibliography of 525 Titles in 34 Countries.* Published by the Author, Pasadena, California. 1930. 34 pp.

J. B. H.

LOST UTOPIAS. By Harriet E. O'Brien. Boston: Perry Walton. 1929. 62 pp.

"A brief description of three quests for happiness, Alcott's Fruitlands, Old Shaker House, and American Indian Museum, rescued from oblivion, recorded and preserved by Clara Endicott Sears, on Prospect Hill in the old township of Harvard, Massachusetts." Admirably illustrated.

C. G.

# SWINBURNE'S OPINION OF WHITMAN

W. B. CAIRNS

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NO CRITIC or biographer concerned with the European reputation of Whitman fails to mention, along with the enthusiasms of Rossetti and Anne Gilchrist, the praise and the condemnation of Swinburne. The common procedure is to quote a few lines from "To Walt Whitman in America," perhaps

O strong-winged soul with prophetic  
Lips hot with the bloodbeats of song,

and the picturesque passage from "Whitmania":

But Mr. Whitman's Eve is a drunken apple-woman, indecently sprawling in the slush and garbage of the gutter amid the rotten refuse of her overturned fruit-stall; but Mr. Whitman's Venus is a Hottentot wench under the influence of cantharides and adulterated rum;

and perhaps to add Whitman's half-amused remark when this latter outburst was repeated to him, "Ain't he the damnedest simulacrum?" If comment is made it stresses Swinburne's inconsistencies as a critic, or repeats the explanation of Sir Edmund Gosse that the later passage was written under the influence of Watts-Dunton.

It cannot be maintained that Swinburne was consistent in his criticisms; yet consistency was always a hobgoblin to him, as was fairness. When he condemned a work that he had formerly praised, or praised a work that he had formerly condemned, he tried, though often unsuccessfully, to show that the two opinions were not in conflict. When he condemned one work of a writer for whom he had some regard, he fairly obtruded praise of some other work of the same author to show that he was not prejudiced. Really judicial estimates cannot be expected of a man who enjoyed using so intense a vocabulary; but study of his prose leads increasingly to the conclusion that even in his most absurd and extravagant passages he was trying to present his real impressions. With this much of concession in mind it is interesting to trace the development of Swinburne's attitude toward Whitman.

## I

According to his leading biographer,<sup>1</sup> Swinburne first became acquainted with Whitman's writings through a copy of *Leaves of Grass* lent him by George Howard, afterward Lord Carlisle, "to whom a copy of the folio [*sic*] of 1855 had been sent." Swinburne ordered a copy of his own from America, and on August 18, 1862, he wrote to Monckton Milnes:<sup>2</sup>

Have you seen the latest edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*? for there is one new poem in it, "A Voice from the Sea," about two birds on the sea-beach, which I really think is the most lovely and wonderful thing I have read for years and years.

This edition must have been that of 1860, since it was in that issue that "A Voice from the Sea"<sup>3</sup> first appeared.

Swinburne continued to read Whitman. On November 2, 1866, he wrote to Lord Houghton:<sup>4</sup>

If you have read the *Drum Taps* of his countryman, the great Walt (whose friends have published a pamphlet in *his*<sup>5</sup> defence) I dare say you agree with me that his dirge or nocturne over your friend Lincoln is a superb piece of music and colour.

The next year, 1867, Swinburne wrote to his friend John Nichol:<sup>6</sup>

About the *Drum Taps* I at once agree and disagree with you—i.e., there was some half of new things in the book so beautiful and noble that I can't think of the rest, or care for it. On the whole, though, I have little doubt you are right—but how perfect and how grand is that dirge for President Lincoln "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd."

It is not known what opinion Nichol had expressed regarding Whitman, but it was evidently less favorable than Swinburne's own.

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Gosse, *The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Renamed "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking."

<sup>4</sup> *Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, edited by Edmund Gosse and Thomas James Wise (New York, 1899), I, 47; also cited Gosse, *Life*, p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> The *his* in this passage is italicized by Swinburne, and implies a reference to publications in his own defense, probably to those of M. D. Conway, who has been spoken of in the preceding paragraph as battling for him in *The New York Tribune*.

<sup>6</sup> From a proof sheet in the British Museum bearing a note by Mr. T. J. Wise saying that the letter was to have been printed for private circulation, but that the plan was abandoned after it was in type. This quotation is made with the kind consent of Mr. Wise.

In 1868 Swinburne published his book on Blake, toward the end of which<sup>7</sup> he indulges in an explicit comparison of Blake and Whitman:

The great American is not a more passionate preacher of sexual or political freedom than the English artist. To each the imperishable form of a possible and universal Republic is equally requisite and adorable as the temporal and spiritual queen of ages as of men. . . . And in externals and details the work of these two constantly and inevitably coheres and coincides. A sound as of a sweeping wind; a prospect as over dawning continents at the fiery instant of a sudden sunrise; a splendour now of stars and now of storms; an expanse and exultation of wing across strange spaces of air and above shoreless stretches of sea; a resolute and reflective love of liberty in all times and in all things where it should be; a depth of sympathy and a height of scorn which complete and explain each other, as tender and as bitter as Dante's; a power, intense and infallible, of pictorial concentration and absorption, most rare when combined with the sense and the enjoyment of the widest and the highest things; an exquisite and lyrical sense of form when the subject is well in keeping with the poet's tone of spirit; a strength and security of touch in small sweet sketches of colour and outline, which bring before the eyes of their student a clear glimpse of the thing designed—some little inlet of sky lighted by moon or star, some dim reach of windy water or gentle growth of meadowland or wood; these are qualities common to the work of either. Had we place or time or wish to touch on their shortcomings and errors, it might be shown that these two are nearly akin; that their poetry has at once the melody and the laxity of a fitful stormwind; that, being oceanic, it is troubled with violent ground-swells and sudden perils of ebb and reflux, of shoal and reef, perplexing to the swimmer or the sailor; in a word, that it partakes the powers and the faults of elemental and eternal things; that it is at times noisy and barren and loose, rootless and fruitless and informal.

While this passage enumerates some limitations and defects of Whitman, it is probably the highest tribute that Swinburne ever paid to the poet. It was Blake to whom he had been devoting long study, and whom he had chiefly in mind; and his attitude toward Blake was one of intense admiration. In searching for things that he could say of both poets he may have been led into greater ex-

<sup>7</sup> *The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, Bonchurch edition, XVI, 342-345.

travagances of praise than he would have used if writing of Whitman alone.

T. J. Wise's bibliography of Swinburne cites<sup>8</sup> a paragraph from the minutes of a meeting of the Anthropological Society held March 17, 1868, which summarizes Swinburne's remarks in discussing a paper:

He said that in his opinion there was a marked difference between the literary men of America and those of Europe. He thought that Washington Irving's compositions were Addison and water, and those of H. W. Longfellow, Tennyson and water. But there was one American poet who, in his opinion, exhibited a special peculiarity not taken from any European model, namely Edgar Allan Poe, whose works he had always admired. There might be better writers in Europe, but he knew of none. So much for the South; with regard to the North there was Walt Whitman, whose compositions were undoubtedly superior. America had a new spring of intellectual power. There was Emerson, in whom there was a certain infusion of European feelings, but also a distinctive feature, not European at all.

While this is too scrappy to furnish much evidence, it shows that Whitman was not the only American author the speaker had in mind, and perhaps indicates something of the relative rank assigned him.

"To Walt Whitman in America" appeared in *Songs before Sunrise*, published in 1871, but was completed somewhat earlier. The volume is inspired through and through by the devotion to liberty which had obsessed Swinburne during the preceding three or four years—a devotion which is said to owe its inception to the deliberate plans of Jowett, and which was first associated with the Italian aspirations for freedom, but which ended in ardent republicanism, and depression over the condition of all Europe. The poem is rightly classed by Harold Nicholson<sup>9</sup> under the heading "Invectives against England." More than half of the twenty-one stanzas bewail the plight of the author's native country, and apostrophize freedom. Less than half have any reference to Whitman or to America. Only two give any estimate of Whitman's work, and this in general terms. It is the interest of Whit-

<sup>8</sup> *Works*, Bonchurch ed., XX, 353, item 154.

<sup>9</sup> Harold Nicholson, *Swinburne*, p. 128.

man in European liberal movements that concerns Swinburne; and it is the fact that a European poet took notice of Whitman and put his name in the title of a poem, rather than any discriminating criticism that made Whitman and his admirers value the verses so highly.

It was in 1872 that Swinburne replied to Buchanan's *Fleshly School of Poetry* with *Under the Microscope*. The section of this work in which Whitman is submitted to examination<sup>10</sup> should be read entire by any one who wishes to form an idea of Swinburne's developing attitude toward the author of *Leaves of Grass*. The following detached sentences may give an idea of the trend of thought:

To me it seems that the truth for good and evil has never yet been spoken about Walt Whitman. There are in him two distinct men of most inharmonious kinds; a poet and a formalist. Of the poet I have before now done my best to express, whether in verse or prose, my ardent and sympathetic admiration. Of the formalist I shall here say what I think; showing why (for example) I cannot for my own part share in full the fiery partisanship of such thoughtful and eloquent disciples as Mr. Rossetti and Dr. Burroughs. . . . Throughout his great book, now of late so nobly completed, you can always tell at first hearing whether it be the poet who speaks or the formalist. . . . It is of no matter whatever, though both disciples and detractors appear to assume that it must be at least in each other's eyes, whether the subject treated be conventionally high or low, pleasant or unpleasant. At once and without fail you can hear whether the utterance of the subject be right or wrong; this is the one thing needful; but then this one thing is needful indeed. . . . What comes forth out of the abundance of his heart rises at once from that high heart to the lips on which its thoughts take fire, and the music which rolls forth from them rings true as fine gold and perfect; what comes forth by the dictation of doctrinal theory serves only to twist aside his hand and make the written notes run foolishly awry. . . . Never before was high poetry so puddled and adulterated with mere doctrine in its crudest form. . . . It so happens that the present writer (*si quid id est*) is, so far as he knows, entirely at one with Whitman on general matters no less than on political. . . . To him the views of life and death set forth by Whitman appear thoroughly acceptable and noble, perfectly creditable and sane. It is certainly therefore from no prejudice against the doctrines delivered that he objects in any case to the delivery of them.

<sup>10</sup> *Works*, Bonchurch ed., XVI, 411-419.

A footnote suggests not only the theme but something of the tone of the later "Whitmania:"

In Dr. Burroughs's excellent little book there is a fault common to almost all champions of his great friend; they will treat Whitman as 'Athanasius contra mundum': they will assume that if he be right all other poets must be wrong. . . . As to this matter of rhythm and rhyme, prose and verse, I find in this little essay some things which out of pure regard and sympathy I could wish away, and consigned to the more congenial page of some tenth-rate poeticule worn out with failure after failure, and now squat in his hole like the tailless fox he is, curled up to snarl and whimper beneath the inaccessible vine of song.

The tendency to balance Whitman's excellences and his defects which is evident in *Under the Microscope* shows itself in letters during the next few years. On February 20, 1875, Swinburne wrote to E. C. Stedman:<sup>11</sup> "When Whitman is not speaking bad prose he sings, and when he sings he sings well." On July 22 of the same year in a letter to P. H. Hayne<sup>12</sup> he reverts to the mood of *Songs before Sunrise* and commends Whitman's political attitude, but says nothing of the quality of his work; but on March 29, 1876, he writes Lord Houghton:<sup>13</sup>

I am sorry to see poor old Whitman seems to be in such a bad way as to health and means (also, if one may judge by extracts, to be writing such damned and damnable rubbish!).

Six days later a letter to W. M. Rossetti<sup>14</sup> refers to the attitude of various London papers toward the appeal in behalf of Whitman, offers to contribute himself, and continues:

*Du reste*, you must allow me to observe that it gives us a pleasing foretaste of the millennial period to see the lion (yourself) lying down (not with the lamb but) with the skunk. I was diverted to see how cautiously (thro' fear or thro' respect?) the *Saturday* abstained from any reference to you while pitching indiscriminately and impartially into the American "eagle" and the Hebridean polecat. Poor old Whitman! the donkey's

<sup>11</sup> *Letters*, ed. Gosse and Wise, I, 181.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>14</sup> *Works*, Bonchurch ed., XVIII, 254. The "skunk" in the passage quoted is of course Buchanan. The abusive article credited to Payne appeared in *The Saturday Review* for March 18, 1876 (p. 360)—unsigned, as was the custom of the journal.



caress should be worse to the decrepit and wounded lion than his kick. However, he may set the kick of a Payne against the caress of a Buchanan. Pity he has no friend at hand to keep him from writing such damned nonsense about poetry and verse as I saw quoted in the *Examiner*—the most blatant bray of impotent and impudent ignorance I ever heard except from the throat of Bavius Buchanan or Maevius Maitland. These are the things that make it difficult always to remember and compromising often to assert the existence of his really high qualities.

This passage suggests that Whitman's standing with Swinburne may not have been improved by the fact that Buchanan was one of his advocates.

## II

The utterances already quoted antedate Swinburne's removal to The Pines and the supervision of Watts-Dunton in 1879. His references to Whitman in published letters for some years seem to be few. On February 21, 1885, he wrote to Gosse:<sup>15</sup>

I am glad to hear of you home again, and to receive so agreeable an account of Whitman. I retain a very cordial admiration for not a little of his earlier work; but the habit of vague and flatulent verbiage seems to me to have grown upon him instead of decreasing; and I must say it is long since I have read anything of his which seemed to me worthy of the nobler passages of his *Drum-Taps* and the earliest *Leaves of Grass*.

This differs little from opinions expressed nearly ten years before.

The famous, or notorious essay published in *The Fortnightly Review* in 1887 and reprinted in the volume *Studies in Poetry and Prose* in 1894 bears the title "Whitmania," and is directed primarily against those enthusiasts who give Whitman a place "a little beneath Shakespeare, a little above Dante, or cheek by jowl with Homer." Sir Edmund Gosse speaks of it as a recantation<sup>16</sup> though Swinburne after referring to his earlier praise says specifically that he has "no recantation to intone." In the second paragraph of the article he enumerates—by way of concession, to be sure—Whitman's "laudable and valuable qualities":<sup>17</sup>

A just enthusiasm, a genuine passion of patriotic and imaginative sympathy, a sincere though limited and distorted love of nature, an eager

<sup>15</sup> *Letters*, ed. Gosse and Wise, II, 154.

<sup>16</sup> *Life*, p. 276.

<sup>17</sup> *Works*, Bonchurch ed., XV, 308.

and earnest faith in freedom and in loyalty—in the loyalty that can only be born of liberty; a really manful and a nobly rational tone of mind with regard to the crowning questions of duty and of death; these excellent qualities of emotion and reflection find here and there a not inadequate expression in a style of rhetoric not always flatulent and inharmonious.

The charges brought against Whitman in this essay are intended to disprove the contentions of the Whitmanites, rather than as direct attacks on the poet himself. The two most important are that Whitman is deficient as a thinker, and that he is not truly a poet. This last proposition is derived from the premise:<sup>18</sup>

Metre, rhythm, cadence not merely appreciable but definable and reducible to rule and measurement. . . we demand from all who claim, we discern in the works of all who have achieved, any place among poets of any class whatever.

His third objection, directed against Whitman's treatment of sex matters, is really less important, but is better known because of the "drunken apple-woman" and "Hottentot wench" sentence—a sentence that should not in fairness be quoted without reference to the context.<sup>19</sup>

There is no more important, no more radical and fundamental truth of criticism than this: that in poetry perhaps above all other arts, the method of treatment, the manner of touch, the tone of expression is the first and last thing to be considered. There is no subject which may not be treated with success (I do not say there are no subjects which on other than artistic grounds it may not be as well to avoid, it may not be better to pass by) if the poet, by instinct or by training, knows exactly how to handle it aright.

This, and the rest of the same paragraph, make clear that the objection is to the manner of treatment, not to the subjects treated.

So far as has been observed, Swinburne had not in his earlier comments considered the frequent objection to Whitman's treatment of sex.<sup>20</sup> He had himself, different as his poetry was, been the object of similar charges, and some critics had compared the sen-

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>19</sup> *Works*, Bonchurch ed., XV, 315.

<sup>20</sup> There is a slight allusion to it in the comparison with Blake.

suous poems of the two men to Whitman's advantage.<sup>21</sup> There may have been something of implied self-defense in this late outburst.

The two other charges against Whitman may be reconciled with earlier utterances if words are interpreted in their strictest senses, but not if tone and temper are taken into account. Swinburne doubtless believed himself when he said he had never regarded Whitman as a thinker in the sense in which the term is applicable to Bacon or to Mill;<sup>22</sup> but he had welcomed Whitman's devotion to the cause of liberty in a way which implied that it was at least intelligent, and in the Blake passage he had commended Whitman's ideas on other matters, if not the processes by which they were reached. There may be no literal contradiction in the statements that "The highest literary quality discoverable in [*Drum-Taps*] is rhetoric,"<sup>23</sup> and the characterization of "When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloom'd" as "the most sweet and sonorous nocturn ever chanted in the church of the world";<sup>24</sup> but the feeling entertained for the author was different when the latter sentence was written.

### III

The reasons for this change of feeling are an interesting subject of conjecture. Gosse ascribes them to the influence of Watts-Dunton, who had been exercising his strange proprietorship over Whitman for nearly eight years when "Whitmania" was written. In the introduction to *The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne, with some Personal Recollections*, by Thomas Hake and Arthur Compton-Rickett—a work favorable to Watts-Dunton and evidently published as an offset to that of Gosse and Wise—it is said:<sup>25</sup>

We do not know what evidence Mr. Gosse has for declaring that Swinburne's change in his attitude toward Walt Whitman is an example of the slow tyranny exercised on Swinburne's judgment by his friend. But we do know that Watts-Dunton attributed this veering round to a path-

<sup>21</sup> For example, Buchanan in a note to *The Fleshly School of Poetry* had endeavored to explain how he could admire Whitman and condemn Rossetti and Swinburne on the ground of immorality, and had made a defense in no way flattering to Swinburne.

<sup>22</sup> *Works*, Bonchurch ed., XV, 310.

<sup>23</sup> *Works*, "Whitmania," Bonchurch ed., XV, 310.

<sup>24</sup> *Works*, "William Blake," Bonchurch ed., XVI, 345.

<sup>25</sup> P. xviii.

ological study published on Whitman the man, which both he and Whitman read.

Inquiry of the editors has failed to yield further information regarding this pathological study, which has not been identified. Moreover, it is hard to see how a pathological study, in the ordinary sense of the term, could establish the three limitations charged against Whitman—that he was not a logical thinker, that his work lacked rhythm and cadence, and that his treatment of sex was inartistic. It is likely, of course, that the joint reading of some study of Whitman gave Watts-Dunton a chance to impress his own views.

Except in the last essay Swinburne's references to Whitman are mostly so casual—in personal letters and in passages introduced into essays on some other topic—that it is hard to trace with accuracy the stages of his appreciation. A consecutive reading of such utterances as can be found leads, however, to the conclusion that his change of estimate was not so abrupt as at first appears.

When Swinburne made the acquaintance of Whitman, he was concerned with the cadences of English verse—a concern that showed itself a little later in the choruses of *Atalanta in Calydon* and *Poems and Ballads*. He was attracted by "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking,"<sup>26</sup> and, after the appearance of *Drum-Taps*, by "When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloom'd." These, the two poems to which he makes specific reference, are the two which readers who are not devoted Whitmanites still find the most musical of all the author's work. He must have read the controversial preface, but he makes no mention of it. The advocacy of a revolutionary theory, of a new cult, may well be ignored so long as the advocate has no followers. He must have read "Song of Myself" in its earlier forms, and "Children of Adam," and "Calamus," but he says nothing about them and hardly alludes to the problems they raise. At this time it was the strange melody of Whitman's finer verse that appealed to him.

His next stage was that of devotion to the ideal of liberty; and now it was Whitman as an apostle of democracy that he valued. It is noticeable that in his tribute to Whitman as an advocate of liberty he names no specific poems. The most cordial appreciation

<sup>26</sup> I use the titles by which the poems were later known.

of Whitman, the only passages which for intensity of praise compare with the intensity of deprecation in "Whitmania," are to be found in the 1867 volume on Blake, where he was really writing chiefly of the English poet and mystic, and stretching his remarks, as it were, to cover the American.

After the tribute in *Songs before Sunrise*, which says little of Whitman as an artist, admiration is always qualified. Passages in *Under the Microscope* (1872) point pretty directly toward the strictures in "Whitmania." Whitman wrote no more poems so musical as the two that had aroused Swinburne's early enthusiasm. He wrote more oracularly in prose, in a way sure to irritate a man of Swinburne's temperament. The letter of 1876 to W. M. Rossetti speaks of Whitman's "damned nonsense about poetry and verse." In short, as time went on, both men changed somewhat. Whitman did not improve in the musical qualities of verse that had first attracted Swinburne, and his political and critical ideas, as expressed in later discursive writings, seemed less sound than had their first utterance during what might be termed the Mazzini years. Add to this the fact that Swinburne's enemies compared his treatment of sex to that of Whitman with praise of the latter, and it was natural that the two men should drift somewhat apart.

Intense when he praised, Swinburne was trebly intense when he attacked. No other recent writer has been such a master of objurgation. "Whitmania" contains a number of Swinburnisms that, quoted by themselves, give a wrong impression of the degree of condemnation, especially when so quoted as to leave the impression that the animus is against the poet and not against the cult. Watts-Dunton was hostile to Whitman, and his great influence over his protégé is unquestionable; he might have been able to induce Swinburne to reverse his former judgment. On the other hand, the trend of Swinburne's comments before 1879 was such that there might well have been an essay like "Whitmania" if the author and Watts-Dunton had never met.

## AN UNKNOWN PROSE TALE BY LONGFELLOW

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD

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WHILE searching through unpublished manuscripts at Craigie House last summer, I came upon an unknown letter, in the notoriously obscure handwriting of Horace Greeley, addressed to "George F. Brown, Esq., Boston," which read as follows:

New York, Nov. 1, 1834.

Dr. Sir.

At the suggestion of our friend L. G. Clark, Esq. I herein enclose you a Fifty Dollar Note, being the amount of the award of the Literary Committee for your capital Tale of the "Little Man in Gosling Green." Trusting that, in your future literary efforts, you will not entirely overlook the New-Yorker,

I remain,

Yours truly,

HORACE GREELEY.

P.S. You will remark two or three typographical errors, which escaped me in a bad proof and at a late hour of the evening, when the form (I knew) *must* go to press on the following morning. I regret them, because they affect the grammatical construction; but they are so palpable that they will be readily and infallibly corrected by the intelligent reader.

H. G.

The words "Gosling Green" I had already noticed in a letter to Longfellow from Lewis Gaylord Clark, editor of the New York *Knickerbocker*, written on August 29, 1834. In this, he begged the poet for further numbers of his *Blank Book of a Country Schoolmaster*, which had been appearing irregularly in the *Knickerbocker*: "Won't you send me a number of the *Book*, or the *gosling-green* individual by the 12th or 15th [September]?"

On August 20, 1834, Greeley had announced, in his recently-established weekly, *The New-Yorker*, a "Literary Premium" of one hundred dollars for the best prose tale offered by September 20, the judges to be Lewis Gaylord Clark; H. W. Herbert, editor of *The American Monthly Magazine*; and Samuel Woodworth, author of "The Old Oaken Bucket." Longfellow submitted his story, under the assumed name, "George F. Brown," through his friend Clark. The award was announced in *The New-Yorker* on October 25, 1834, the prize being equally divided between

George F. Brown of Boston, and Miss Leslie of Philadelphia. Longfellow's tale was printed in the first columns of *The New-Yorker* on November 1, 1834.

A letter from Clark, written on the following day, gave an account of the decision: "Well, the Man in Green succeeded in part, and should [*sic*] in whole, but for the overpowering solicitude of . . . Miss Leslie, who inflicted two *pretty* good tales, . . . and 'hoped that one would be found worthy the prize.'" On December 10, 1834, Clark wrote to Longfellow: "Haven't you got \$50 from Greeley through your *nom de guerre*, in Boston? Please let me know."

The finding of a file of Greeley's (first) *New-Yorker* proved difficult, but one was at last discovered in the New York Public Library.

At the time of this correspondence, Longfellow was professor of modern languages at Bowdoin College. He had entered upon his duties with enthusiasm in 1829, and introduced new progressive methods in teaching—but the provincial aspects of Brunswick chafed him after more than three full years in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, where he had found every opportunity to satisfy his longing for the romantic charm of European life and culture. An unpleasant experience in connection with his professorship had embittered his high satisfaction in having been chosen (just after graduation, at the age of eighteen) to fill the proposed new chair at Bowdoin, with a salary of \$1,000. Without expense to the college, he betook himself to Europe, to spend years in mastering French, Spanish, and Italian—with some intensive study of German at Göttingen. In December, 1828, while in Rome, he had received the paralyzing news that the Trustees considered him "too young" for the professorship, but were prepared to make him a tutor, at \$600. The young man rejected this proposition with proper scorn; his home-letters from Göttingen are filled with indignant protest against the sharp practice involved. The matter was compromised by his election as professor at \$800, and his simultaneous appointment as college librarian with a salary of \$100. On these terms he reported for duty.

In 1833 he began the fragmentary publication of *Outre-Mer* (frankly modeled upon Irving's *Sketch-Book*, and, in the main, a transcription from his European diary), in serial numbers, though the completed work, in book form, was not issued until 1835. The "Tale" takes a very early place among the "small-town stories" of American life. The name and character of "Bungonuck" are suggestive of Brunswick, while "Down East" and other familiar touches reveal the local color of Maine, where Longfellow was brought up.

Certain connections with *Outre-Mer* are obvious: in that story, a

"little man in gosling green" enters the diligence at Limoges, but makes only one remark. The figurative "tailor's drawer," occurring in the "Tale," is a reminiscence of Longfellow's Spanish experiences: one of the closing chapters in *Outre-Mer* (published later than the "Tale") has this phrase as its heading; it is there explained as "a title which the Spaniards give to a desultory discourse, wherein various and discordant themes are touched upon."

The style of the "Tale," in its digressiveness, quaint turns, unexpected similes, far-fetched learned allusions, and whimsical mystification of the reader, derives ultimately from Sterne, but very definitely through the medium of Jean Paul Richter, to whom Longfellow accorded (especially during this period) a high and unique place in literature—notably in the portrayal of the humble lot of obscure humanity.

## THE WONDROUS TALE OF A LITTLE MAN IN GOSLING GREEN

GEORGE F. BROWN

And with a tale, forsooth, he cometh unto you; with a tale, which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney-corner: and pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

### CHAPTER I.

In which the author describeth a village so far Down East as to be beyond sunrise; but saith nothing of the Little Man in Gosling Green.

Upon the margin of one of the blue rivers that pour their tributary waters into the broad lap of Merry-meeting Bay, stands the village of Bungonuck,—a drowsy land, where the rush of a waterfall lulls the inhabitants into a dreamy state of existence, leaving them neither quite asleep, nor quite awake. The village is intersected by a wide street, which yawns to receive the weary traveller; while around it are pleasant woodland walks, and groves of pine, that perfume the air, and cheerful with the bark of the squirrel and the twitter of birds. On an eminence at one extremity of the village stands a meeting-house, all windows, with a lightning-rod bent at right angles to the steeple, and reaching no farther down than the second story, the remainder having fallen



to decay. A dial without hands ornaments the front of the tower, and the steeple is surmounted by a weathercock in the shape of a boot-jack; so that instead of asking which way the wind blows, it is customary to say, "Which way is the boot-jack?"

An almost uninterrupted tranquillity reigns over this peaceful land. Indeed, the only event that breaks in upon its repose is the daily arrival and departure of the mail. Just at noon it comes dashing along the wide, sandy street—waits for the passengers to dine—and then wheels away again for the shadowy regions of Down East; for Down East recedes from you as you advance,—like the talisman in the Arabian tale, which was carried from tree to tree in the beak of a bird!

## CHAPTER II.

In which many things are said concerning Bungonuck, and nothing at all concerning the Little Man in Gosling Green; whereby the reader's curiosity is wonderfully sharpened.

Besides the important event alluded to at the close of the last chapter, it sometimes happened in summer time, that the arrival of a puppet-show, or a caravan of wild animals, or some distinguished foreigner with a hand-organ and a chimesco, fills the little world of Bungonuck with uproar and misrule. But the most remarkable event of this kind is the occasional arrival of a strolling company of circus-riders. Their canvass palace rises as if by enchantment in a single night, and disappears as mysteriously the next. From within its walls there issues forth, just as the hour of the show approaches, a splendid pageant, shining with spangles and red-morocco, and terrible with burnt cork and false-mustaches. This fairy cavalcade moves slowly through the village, preceded by Harlequin in his motley garb, with a sword of lath and a bugle; and again disappears within the walls of the enchanted palace; while a handbill upon the corner proclaims in large letters, that "the performance will commence with a grand carousal by four Turks on horseback in full costume; and Young Levi, the supercilious rider, will appear on the steed Mazeppa, and perform his flying leaps through hoops and balloons, with five [fire] attached to his heels; and after throwing a flip-flap and a horizontal

Tour: billow Spiral, will conclude with riding on his head, in a style peculiar to himself!" Your thorough-going vagabond is a demi-god among all idlers and truant school-boys; for in him is realized the hero of the nursery tale and the picture-book. Hence they have a kind of veneration for circus-riders; and the clown of a strolling company is a most imposing character among the little lords of creation; thereby showing, that however low a man may be in the scale of being, he never need despair of finding partisans and imitators.—But this is a digression.

### CHAPTER III.

Which treateth of ecclesiastical affairs, and many other matters that have nothing to do with the Little Man in Gosling Green; whereby the reader's curiosity is carried to the highest point.

Bear with me, gentle and courteous reader,—bear with me, if I weary thee by relating circumstances, which may seem to thee as much out of place in this wondrous tale of the East, as a guitar would be at a funeral. Have patience; and it will soon be very manifest to thee, that many things which thou deemest superfluous and irrelevant, have in truth a wonderful pertaining to the subject in hand, and tend very directly and obviously to the full elucidation and perfect understanding thereof.

Beside the events narrated or alluded to above, others of a more domestic nature sometimes interrupt the quiet of the place. The choice of town clerk and select-men, or some occurrence of equal importance, occasionally arouses the drowsy villagers from their wonted repose, and rakes open anew the ashes of some half-extinguished family feud. Not many years ago the whole town was thrown into violent commotion by a most lamentable schism in the church, of as great importance to the elders of the village as was the Arian or Socinian controversy to the early Christian Fathers. Innovations had been long creeping into the church; the venerable custom of deaconing the hymn had fallen into disuse; the doxology had been given up, after a long and obstinate struggle; and thus landmark after landmark of the primitive church had been swept away by the strong tide of the rising generation. At length a new-fangled singing master came to town, bringing with him a huge bass-viol,

which abominable instrument—abominable in the eyes of many pious old men—was soon introduced into the church. This produced a schism; and the seceders followed the banner of Elder Jocelin, who held forth in a little red school-house. One of the deacons said, "They had conscientious scruples, and did not believe in a bass-viol." As an off-set to this, it was said by the true church, that Elder Jocelin bought lottery tickets, and then prayed that they might draw prizes.

From this short sketch of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Bungonuck, some inference may be drawn concerning the character of its inhabitants. Having very little business of their own, they have ample leisure to devote to the affairs of their neighbors; and it is said, that even to this day, if a Bungonucker wishes to find out what is going on in his own family, the surest and most expeditious way is to ask the person who lives next door.

#### CHAPTER IV.

How the Little Man in Gosling Green arrived in Bungonuck, being in search of Down East; and what he said on the occasion.

To a people of such habits and ways of thinking, the quotidian arrival of the mail is a very important epoch. The wise men of the East call at the tavern door, to see the travellers get out of the coach,—read their names on the trunks and band-boxes—and if possible find out where they come from, and whither they are going. There they linger till the cry of "Stage ready!" snaps the thread of their discourse; when the little congress adjourns to the next day noon, and solitude and silence resume their wonted sway.

Some years ago, it happened once upon a time in the beginning of summer, that the mail arrived with only a single passenger. He was what is called a gentlemanly-looking man, with a fair complexion, blue eyes, light hair, and a cotton umbrella. He wore a cloth cap, and a long surtout of a gosling green color; and as he stepped out of the coach backwards, the wise men saw his inexpressibles, which were of the same verdant hue, shading off into the yellow leaf. I must not forget to mention, that he had a large iron-bound trunk, of a most mysterious and outlandish aspect, and that when he got out of the coach he yawned, as if he had just waked up, and then looked

at his watch, which was of gold, and as large as the palm of your hand. He was evidently a foreigner, but the trunk had no name on it, which disappointed the wise men of the East exceedingly. They asked the driver who the stranger was, and he answered that he did not know. They then peeped over the agent's shoulder at the way-bill. All it said was, "One seat here." The wise men were now in despair.

By and by the Green Man asked the name of the town. He spake English very well, though his accent was foreign. This opened a door for conversation, and one of the wise men wedged himself in, and asked him if he was going any farther Down East. The Green Man seemed a little surprised at the question, and after a short pause, said emphatically:

"The Spaniards of old had their El Dorado, and the philosophers of Greece their Hyperborean regions; even the Land of Cockaigne has its geography; and the site of the Garden of Eden can be pointed out on the map: but who ever travelled beyond sunrise, or discovered the location of Down East?"

The wise men stared, but asked no more questions. They thought the Green Man a little deranged, though I suspect he only meant to mystify them for their curiosity.

#### CHAPTER V.

How the Green Man went on a wild-geese chase, and came back with a flea in his ear.

The strange gentleman ate his dinner and paid for it very much as other people do, and then got into the stage-coach with a cigar in his mouth. Just as the horses started, one of the wise men said, that if he wanted to see something pretty nice, he had better go to Bangor; to which the stranger made no answer. After his departure there was a great deal of speculation as to who and what he was; and when many and various opinions had been brought forward and duly weighed, they concluded that he must be a speculator in wild lands. How near this was to the truth, perhaps we shall see hereafter.

Summer was now past and gone—the autumnal equinox was near, and the Green Man forgotten; when, lo! he again made his

appearance in Bungonuck at just the same hour, and in just the same dress, as when he passed through the town before. He had his trunk taken from the coach, and carried upstairs; which looked as if he were going to stay over night. He then went into the bar-room and called for brandy and water. Here the wise men tried to find out where he had been; but they only found out that they had got a nut to crack: for when they mentioned Down East, he turned upon them, as before, and said with comic gravity:

"The Spaniards of old had their El Dorado, and the philosophers of Greece their Hyperborean regions; even the Land of Cockaigne has its geography, and the site of the Garden of Eden can be pointed out on the map; but who ever travelled beyond sunrise, or discovered the location of Down East?"

This would not do a second time. They pressed upon him close, and succeeded in tracking him as far as Owl's Head and Clam Cove. There he dodged them, though they contrived to get another peep at him near Cape Split, and Haycock Harbor, and fairly came up with him again among the Passamaquoddy Indians and the Blue Noses. They finally lost sight of him altogether, and gave up the pursuit. All they could gather from his evasive answers was, that though he found the place where they eat plum-cake for breakfast yet he did not get far enough to see the sun rise in the west. As for Down East, he said he could not find it. The farther he went, the farther that went; it was like trying to tread upon your own shadow.

#### CHAPTER VI.

How the Little Man in Gosling Green took up his abode in Bungonuck, and what he did there.

Day after day slipped silently from the reel of Time, and yet the Green Man stood still. He was waiting for letters. The letters came. They were all directed to John Swartkins, and thus his name was discovered. One of the letters was post-marked "New-York, Ship, 75 cents"; a circumstance which gave the post-master a high idea of the stranger's importance. He peeped into it, and spelled out the words "Vergeet mij niet," which puzzled the wise men of the East exceedingly. It however settled the question beyond a doubt that the Green Man was a foreigner.

For a long time after the arrival of these letters he seemed quite sad, and drank considerable brandy. He then gave out, that he should establish himself in the town; and shortly afterwards opened a variety store, which, like a tailor's drawer, contained a little of every thing. He moreover left the tavern, and lived in a little chamber over his own shop.

Public curiosity was now more than ever on tip-toe to peep into the affairs of this solitary being. A thousand vague rumors were afloat. The conjecture of yesterday was ripened into the certainty of to-day,—and then gave place to the whisper of to-morrow. At first he was a High German doctor, who had poisoned his wife;—then a Dutch nobleman, who had killed a man in a duel;—then a Belgian general, who had been obliged to flee his country when the Netherlands surrendered to Napoleon. To these and all similar rumors he very wisely said nothing. People were at liberty to form what conjectures they pleased: he neither contradicted them. One thing was certain—he was a very quiet, unoffending, urbane man, and had evidently seen better days; but when and where was an impenetrable mystery.

#### CHAPTER VII.

How the Green Individual became bankrupt, and went to decay.

A year or two passed away, and the mystery rather increased than diminished. At length one stormy night in winter, when all the village was abed and asleep, the neighborhood was disturbed by a loud knocking at the Green Man's door. The people in the next house peeped out, and saw two men with a lantern, talking with the Green Man, who was at the window in his night-cap, and who told them that they had better wait till the morning. To this one of the men at the door answered, "He'd be d——d if he would!" Whereupon the door was opened, and they both went in.

In the morning the Green Man's shop was not opened at the usual hour, and a story soon spread through the village that he had failed; which, unlike most of the stories told in Bungonuck, turned out to be true. Some of the wise men said, "I told you so"; others winked, and said that *some* people made more money by failing than they did by doing business.

From that day forth the Green Man seemed broken-hearted. He avoided all society, and shut himself up in his chamber, where, according to the statement of the old woman who made his bed and cooked his dinner, he passed his time in smoking a pipe, in writing, and in reading in a great book. He seldom went out, not even to church; and it was therefore soon whispered abroad that he was an atheist, and was writing a book to prove that Adam was not the first man, and that there was no devil. One thing was evident; he was very poor and very friendless. He sold his silver shoe-buckles, then an embroidered waistcoat, then his watch. People kept aloof on account of his dangerous principles; they would have nothing to do with a man who did not believe there was a devil.

About this time an Irish priest passed through the village, and called upon the Green Man. This gave a feather to the wings of gossip. He was not an atheist but a Roman Catholic, which was about the same thing. Then the old woman was asked whether he ate meat on Friday; to which she answered that he did not—but in order to hide the poor man's shame, she refrained from saying that the same thing happened six other days in the week. This settled the point: he must have had something to do with the Spanish Inquisition;—he was a Jesuit in disguise;—a secret messenger of the Pope!

#### CHAPTER VIII.

How the Green Man fell sick, and how the Deacon went to see him, and what was said on the occasion, causing the disappointment of the Deacon, and likewise that of the reader.

The summer was over, and the season of the yellow leaf had come. The Little Man in Gosling Green fell sick, and sent for the doctor; who after his first visit told such a tale of misery, that feelings of pity were awakened for the poor man. The first impulse of charity was to remove him to the Poor-house; but the doctor said that he could not be moved. Then the deacon of the parish called to enquire into his situation, and ascertain whether he were a worthy subject for the Dorcas Society. He found him a-bed, reading in the great book, which was lying in a chair by the bedside. He was very pale and feeble, and there was no fire on the hearth.

though it was the month of November. The old woman was trying to warm some water-gruel over a lamp.

The deacon entered at once into a long discourse, which turned chiefly on doctrinal points, and to which the sick man gave his assent. The deacon was surprised to find him in so happy a frame of mind, and thought it a favorable moment to push his discoveries into the Green Man's character and history. He began by telling him the suspicion that was abroad, of his being an Atheist. On hearing this the sick man raised his hollow eyes to heaven, and exclaimed in a choked voice:

"My God! is it possible!"

The deacon then asked him if he had written a book to prove that Adam was not the first man; to which he replied that he had not. Was he a Roman Catholic? No: he was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church.—Did he believe in the existence of the Devil? Most solemnly.—What was the great book he read so often, and which lay before him? Tears came into the sick man's eyes as he said:

"It is the Bible; on whose promises rest all my hopes of salvation hereafter. Without the consolations of this volume how could I have borne so much sorrow! It has taught me patience:—it has taught me that I should not return evil for evil, but when smitten upon one cheek, should turn the other also."

The deacon felt humbled and rebuked. But there was one point that puzzled him. If all this were true, why had Mr. Swartkins been so long absent from church? When questioned upon this point he hesitated to answer; but at length said, that his clothes were all in tatters and that he was ashamed to appear at church in a ragged coat.

All these disclosures, so far from satisfying the deacon's curiosity, only served to increase it. He ventured to touch upon the history of the mysterious stranger; mentioned all the surmises and reports, that had been current in the village, and finally said that every body was curious to know who and what he was, and whence he came. The sick man seemed hurt at these remarks, and looking up into the face of his questioner, said with emotion:

"Sir, when I tell every body I will tell you."

The deacon was frustrated.



## CHAPTER IX.

How the Green Man died and was buried, with divers other matters very pleasant for to read.

It is an old saying, that "a Lie will travel from Maine to Georgia while Truth is putting on his boots." In that case Truth should not stop to put on his boots. The difficulty lies in allowing the Lie to run on a-head. Let them start a-breast, and Truth against the field. It may be distanced in the first heat, but, in the long run, is sure to come off victorious.

At all events this was the case with the tales told about the Green Man. After his interview with the deacon, as recorded in the preceding chapter, his character stood much fairer than before. To be sure, no light had been thrown upon his past history, but it had been ascertained from his own confession, that he believed in the existence of a devil, and he was immediately taken under the wing of the Dorcas Society. People always run into extremes; and when they have injured a man by thought or by word, they generally make amends—if they make them at all—by deeds.—Upon the whole, it is the easiest way; it saves the mortifying necessity of an apology. Thus it befell the Green Man. An idle story had nearly starved him; but now he had more dinners sent to him in one week than he could eat in three. But alas! these blessings came too late. He had fallen into a decline; and all that the Dorcas Society could do was to smoothe his last footsteps to the grave;—which was mainly effected by means of an extra blanket, and a feather bed, which they lent him to die on.—There are some places in the world where it is easier to die than to live.

At length, after lingering through the winter, the Green Man departed this life, and was buried, without making any disclosures relative to his history. Once or twice, however, during the last days of his sickness, he attempted to speak with his physician upon the subject, but immediately burst into tears, and was so much overcome by his feelings, that he could not go on. He expired, therefore, without disclosing any thing; but he left a trunk full of papers. The wise men kept their eye upon this trunk; and no sooner was the Green Man laid under the green sod, than the mysterious coffer was opened; and, to the great disappointment of

the whole village, was found to contain nothing but a Day-book and Ledger, a file of old musty accounts, and a razor, wrapped up in part of a cotton shirt. Even to the present day the mystery remains a mystery; and the Wondrous Tale of the Little Man in Gosling Green is a prominent event in the traditionary lore of Bungonuck. Different people tell the story in different ways, though all agree in the principal facts. I am very sorry that he died without telling his own story. Had he told it, I should have been able to gratify thy laudable curiosity, most worthy reader; but as his secret was buried with his body, I am constrained, though much against my will, to disappoint thee. Peace be with thee and thine. Farewell.

## EMERSON AND THE FRONTIER

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### I

SO FIRMLY fixed in the American mind is the tradition of New England that we are accustomed to associate its great figures exclusively with that little northeastern corner of the Republic. Thus Emerson means Concord; and visions of the Puritan pacing to church, Bible under one arm and bell-mouthed musket under the other, of the immortal blade of Damascus, of minutemen, and the other paraphernalia of school-book history come crowding to the mind. But Emerson was far from a provincial man of letters shut in his study and engaged in romanticizing the New England past. It is true he was deeply rooted in that soil—as two or three generations of New England ancestors made inevitable—but he commanded a sweeping view of the field of activity of a feverishly growing, nervous, ever-expanding young nation. And in that animated scene Emerson never ceased through half a century to take the liveliest interest. “It is not possible,” said he in 1863, “to extricate yourself from the questions in which your age is involved.”<sup>1</sup> The mere enumeration of his Western journeys is enough to dispel the notion of Emerson the cloistered scholar. Beginning about 1850, coincident with the development of railroad travel in the West, he made almost yearly lecture tours which, in the course of the next twenty-one years, took him to every one of the states—then twelve in number—west of the Alleghanies, north of the Ohio, and east of the Rockies, and to most of them many times. Nor did our philosopher shrink from the discomforts and dangers of travel. Many a night in Western boom towns he lay down in rude unpainted hotels with false fronts. In January, 1856, he wrote to his family: “A cold, raw country this, and plenty of night travelling and arriving at four in the morning to take the last and worst bed in the tavern. Advancing day brings mercy and favor to me, but not the sleep. . . . Mercury 15° below zero.” And the next week, from Springfield,

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, XI, 539.

Illinois: "Here I am," he announced, "in the deep mud of the prairies. . . . It rains and thaws incessantly, and if we step off the short street we go up to the shoulders, perhaps, in mud. My chamber is a cabin. . . . But in the prairie we are new men just come and must not stand for trifles."<sup>2</sup>

He was interested in everything he saw, from mines, mills, and railroads to Methodist colleges. "I went down the Galena River," he records, ". . . four or five miles in a sleigh, with Mr. McMasters to the 'Marsden Lead,' so called, a valuable lead-mine, and went into it. . . . Mr. Shetland said seventy-five or a hundred thousand dollars had already been derived from this mine, and perhaps as much more remains."<sup>3</sup> At the Tremont House in Chicago in January, 1857, he noted in his journal that "Evansville is a town a year and a half old, where are now 600 inhabitants, and a Biblical Institute, or Divinity School of the Methodists. . . . They had in the same town a college,—a thriving institution, which unfortunately blew down one night,—but I believe they raised it again the next day, or built another, and no doubt in a few weeks it will eclipse Cambridge and Yale!"<sup>4</sup> An interesting scrap of evidence of the expansive, enthusiastic spirit of the West.

And the physical aspects of the great new West moved him to many an entry in his journal. "I found in Wisconsin," he wrote in 1854, "that the world was laid down in large lots. The member of Congress there said that, up in the pine country, the trees were so large, and so many of them, that a man could not walk in the forest, and it was necessary to wade up the streams. Dr. Welsh at La Salle told me that the prairie grass there was over the tops of carriages, or higher than the head of a man riding on horseback, so that really a man not accustomed to the prairie could easily get lost in the grass."<sup>5</sup> On his return he wrote to Carlyle of this trip, "I went out Northwest to great countries which I had not visited before; rode one day, fault of broken railroads, in a sleigh, sixty-five miles through the snow, by Lake Michigan (seeing how prairies and oak-openings look in the winter,) to reach Milwaukee."<sup>6</sup>

Evidence that Emerson was fully alive to the economic and

<sup>2</sup> *Journals*, IX, 3 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 443.

<sup>6</sup> *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson*, II, 266.

social forces at work around him is his recognition of the transitional character of his times. A fundamental change was taking place in the organization of American life, a change from an agrarian, domestic economy to an urban, industrial, finance-controlled, highly regimented, machine civilization. To this change Emerson testifies in the following significant passage in "Wealth."

A farm is a good thing when it begins and ends with itself, and does not need a salary or a shop to eke it out. . . . When men now alive were born, the farm yielded everything that was consumed on it. The farm yielded no money, and the farmer got on without. . . . In autumn he could sell an ox or a hog and get a little money to pay taxes withal. Now the farmer buys almost all he consumes,—tinware, cloth, sugar, tea, coffee, fish, coal, railroad tickets and newspapers.<sup>7</sup>

Between the two ways of life an inevitable antagonism developed, and the history of that opposition is largely the history of America, political, social, and economic, down to our own times. With the characteristic temper which led Emerson to fit into his thought, if possible, every new social phenomenon as somehow good and in accord with the beneficent tendency of the world, he hailed the new order of things in these words: "It has been to me a sensible relief to learn that the destiny of New England is to be the manufacturing country of America. I no longer suffer in the cold out of morbid sympathy with the farmer. . . . I am as gay as a canary with this new knowledge."<sup>8</sup>

## II

Now, with the complex of forces—Whig and Democrat, tariff and free trade, mills and railroads—generated by the industrialization of America, what has the West to do? What to do with literary New England except to serve as a lyceum circuit for Concord and Boston lecturers? Ever since Frederick Jackson Turner's memorable address before the American Historical Association at Chicago in 1893 on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," an increasing number of historians—Paxson, Alvord, Thwaites—have seen in the frontier the most American thing in

<sup>7</sup> *Works*, VI, 118-119.

<sup>8</sup> *Journals*, IV, 207.

America.<sup>8a</sup> In the first place, it has always been here. When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, it extended from their feet to the Pacific; in the time of Emerson's grandfather, from the Alleghanies; in Emerson's time, from the Mississippi. Only in our fathers' time has it disappeared. If we picture to ourselves a long, thin skirmish line, with its left flank touching the Gulf and its right the Lakes; if we look closer along this front and see the trees falling, cabins rising, plows crawling over the face of the land, turning up to the sun the primeval black soil of the prairie, and the whole line moving forward at an average rate of seventeen miles a year, we shall have a panoramic view of the frontier. There is an epic quality in the whole thing which did not fail to get into the blood of the people. Emerson, after reading de Tocqueville, copied from him a passage into his journal: "This gradual and continuous progress of the European race towards the Rocky Mountains has the solemnity of a providential event; it is like a deluge of men rising unabatedly, and daily driven onward by the hand of God."<sup>9</sup>

The principal effects of the frontier have been these: First, democracy. Where all are engaged in doing the same thing, there are no social castes. All are equally remote from books and schools, from European culture; all start the battle against the wilderness with the same weapons. This gives rise to the spirit which Emerson remarked among the small boys of Boston, who, when one of their number allowed his pride to mount, would say, "I'm as good as you be." Moreover, the presence of cheap lands in the West, had a democratizing influence on the East. When wages were low, or jobs scarce, or society too exclusive, the common man gathered up his chattels and struck out for the frontier, where there was elbow room. Carlyle wrote to Emerson in 1835: ". . . blessed are you where, what jargonizing soever there be at Washington, the poor man shoulders his axe, and walks into the Western Woods, sure of a nourishing Earth and an overarching Sky! It is verily the Door of Hope to distracted Europe; which

<sup>8a</sup> For authors who to some extent anticipated Turner, see H. C. Nixon, "Precursors of Turner in the Interpretation of the American Frontier," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVIII, 83-89 (January, 1929), and H. H. Clark, "Lowell—Humanitarian, Nationalist, or Humanist?" *Studies in Philology*, XXVII, 431-432.

<sup>9</sup> *Journals*, V, 531-532.

otherwise I should see crumbling down into blackness of darkness."<sup>10</sup> There are no serious labor troubles in American history till after the disappearance of cheap land.

Second, individualism. Obviously the conditions of pioneering gave rise to the sentiment "every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost." Here we see the origin of the great American myth that every little boy, if he be virtuous and industrious, can one day become president, if not of the Republic, at least of the chamber of commerce. Hence, the minimizing of all environmental influences and the lack of sympathy with what is called failure. "There is in America," says Emerson in "Social Aims," "a general conviction in the minds of all mature men, that every young man of good faculty and good habits can by perseverance attain to an adequate estate; if he have a turn for business, and a quick eye for the opportunities which are always offering for investment, he can come to wealth, and in such good season as to enjoy as well as transmit it."<sup>11</sup> Frontier individualism was at first favorable, in politics and government, to the theory of *laissez-faire*. "Don't interfere with our land titles, don't tax us too much, don't encumber us with legal restrictions." But presently the West needed roads and canals and railroads to market its produce, and it was perfectly willing for government to help it. *Laissez-faire* always works two ways. To the industrialist, for instance, it means "let us alone to exploit our workmen and the public and the natural resources"—never "do not grant us subsidies and privileges and exemptions."<sup>12</sup>

Third, a sky-scraping, rhapsodical, hyperbolic optimism, which, by convincing us that all was for the best in this best of all possible continents, eventuated in a fine scorn of the past and of European culture generally. While it would be false to accuse Emerson himself of failure to appreciate what was best in the social heritage of the Old World, his declarations of independence from the past are well known. And America's belief in its manifest destiny found sympathetic lodgement with him. "The irresistible convictions of men,"

<sup>10</sup> *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson*, I, 71.

<sup>11</sup> *Works*, VIII, 100.

<sup>12</sup> See Charles Edward Merriam, *American Political Ideas*, pp. 325-326; the whole chapter (XI) is invaluable.

he confided to his journal in his sixty-second year, "are sometimes as well expressed by braggart lips, or in jeers, that sound blasphemous;—and that word 'manifest destiny' which is profanely used, signifies the sense all men have of the prodigious energy and opportunity lying idle here."<sup>13</sup>

That the great importance of the West is not the mere ingenious theorizing of twentieth-century historians there is plenty of evidence to show. In 1835 the Reverend Dr. Lyman Beecher, an eminent divine of Connecticut, who had yielded to the call of the frontier and settled in Cincinnati, announced to the world:

It is equally plain that the religious and political destiny of our nation is to be decided in the west. . . . A nation is being 'born in a day'. . . . But what will become of the West if her prosperity rushes up to such a majesty of power, while those great institutions ["which discipline the mind and arm the conscience and the heart"] linger. . . ? It must not be permitted. . . . Let no man at the East quiet himself and dream of liberty, whatever may become of the West. . . . Her destiny is our destiny.<sup>14</sup>

But Emerson, when a mere lad of twenty, casting about for a career, had anticipated Beecher by twelve years in the expression of the same hopes and fears for the West. He wrote in his journal, April 8, 1823:

Let the young American withdraw his eyes from all but his own country, and try if he can find employment there. Separated from the contamination which infects all other civilized lands, this country has always boasted a great comparative purity. At the same time, from obvious causes, it has leaped at once from infancy to manhood; has covered, and is covering, millions of square miles with a hardy and enterprising population. . . . But the vast rapidity with which the deserts and forests of the interior of this country are peopled have led patriots to fear lest the nation grow *too fast* for its virtue and its peace. In the raw multitudes who lead the front of emigration, men of respectability in mind and morals are rarely found—it is well known. The pioneers are commonly the off-scouring of civilized society . . . in the bosom of mountains where white men never trod, already the voice of nations begins to be heard—haply heard in ominous and evil accents. Good men desire, and the great cause of human nature demands that this

<sup>13</sup> *Journals*, X, 106.

<sup>14</sup> *A Plea for the West*, pp. 11 ff. Quoted by Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, pp. 35-36.



abundant and overflowing richness wherewith God has blessed this country be not misapplied and made a curse of; that this new storehouse of nations shall never pour out upon the world an accursed tribe of barbarous robbers. Now the danger is very great that the Machine of Government acting upon this territory at so great a distance will wax feeble, or meet with resistance, and that the oracles of moral law and intellectual wisdom, in the midst of an ignorant and licentious people, will speak faintly and indistinctly. . . .<sup>15</sup>

Here speaks the authentic voice of respectable Federalist Boston, fearful lest the democratic hordes of the frontier seize political power and disturb its economic advantages. Here is true prophecy, for a scant six years after Emerson wrote, that very "accursed tribe of barbarous robbers" descended upon the national capital shouting the name of Andrew Jackson, the tails of their coonskin caps flying out behind them.

### III

It cannot be said that Emerson derived his optimism entirely from the enthusiasm bred by a rapidly developing, expanding country. The doctrine of progress had been let loose in the world by the French romantic school, to whose thought Emerson, of course, had access through numerous channels. But neither can it be denied that he found the highest confirmation for his optimism in the America of his time. A further circumstance worth noting is that he grew to manhood in an atmosphere of just such boundless enthusiasm as he exhibits himself. The War of 1812 had badly crippled New England shipping, and, at its close, she, with the rest of the country, turned with freshened interest to the West. Emerson was eleven years old at the end of the war, when there began what is known as the Great Migration, one of the notable waves of the Westward movement. In short, Emerson could not remember a time when the lure of the "Western Waters" was not a part of the texture of life. His faith in the future of America flowered early. The young man of twenty had already caught the vision. Since the canvas was large, the colors, he thought, must be strong and the brush vigorously wielded. He wrote in his journal:

<sup>15</sup> *Journals*, I, 246-248.

I dedicate my book to the spirit of America. I dedicate it to that living soul, which doth exist somewhere beyond the Fancy, to whom the Divinity hath assigned the care of this bright corner of the Universe. . . . If the nations of Europe can find anything to idolize in their ruinous and enslaved institutions, we are content, though we are astonished at their satisfaction. But let them not ignorantly mock at the pride of an American, as if it were misplaced or unfounded. . . . He rejoices in the birth-right of a country where the freedom of opinion and action is so perfect that every man enjoys exactly that consideration to which he is entitled. . . . Xenophon and Thucydides would have thought it a theme better worthy of their powers than Persia or Greece; and her Revolution would furnish Plutarch with a list of heroes. If the constitution of the United States outlives a century, it will be a matter of deep congratulation to the human race. . . .<sup>16</sup>

This being the lofty destiny and these the heroic proportions of America, it followed naturally that Europe, as representative of the past, should suffer a severe shrinkage in American eyes. The youthful prophet continues:

. . . the old tales of history and the fortunes of departed nations shall be thoroughly forgotten and the name of Rome or Britain fall seldom on the ear . . . when the glory of Plato of Greece, of Cicero of Rome, and of Shakespeare of England shall have died, who are they that are to write their names where all time shall read them, and their words be the oracle of millions? Let those who would pluck the lot of Immortality from Fate's Urn, look well to the future prospects of America.<sup>17</sup>

Compare Emerson's thought with that of a certain B. Gratz Brown, who, in a Fourth of July oration in Missouri in 1850, said: "With the Past we have literally nothing to do, save to dream of it. Its lessons are lost and its tongue is silent. Precedents have lost their virtue and all their authority is gone. . . . Experience can profit us only to guard from antequated [*sic*] delusions."<sup>18</sup>

This high note continues through the early journals, but by and by, as years and experience came to him, it began to be, though hardly diminished, accompanied by another which made the melody a trifle less triumphant. But of this, more in a later section.

The concrete, material basis for optimism Emerson found in

<sup>16</sup> *Journals*, I, 160-162.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted by Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

the amazing natural wealth of the country, with its resultant stimulus to the energy, ingenuity, and enterprise of the people. In the discourse on "Resources," in 1864, he said:

Here in America are all the wealth of soil, of timber, of mines and of the sea, put into the possession of a people who wield all these wonderful machines, have the secret of steam, of electricity; and have the power and habit of invention in their brain. *We Americans have got supplied into the state of melioration.* [Italics mine.] Life is always rapid here, but what acceleration to its pace in ten years,—what in the four years of the war! We have seen the railroad and telegraph subdue our enormous geography; we have seen the snowy deserts of the northwest, seats of Esquimeaux, become lands of promise. When our population, swarming west, had reached the boundary of arable land,—as if to stimulate our energy, on the face of the sterile waste beyond, the land was suddenly in parts found covered with gold and silver, floored with coal. . . . Resources of America! why, one thinks of Saint-Simon's saying, "The Golden Age is not behind, but before you."<sup>19</sup>

#### IV

The important rôle of the land in American life has been previously noticed. That importance was early recognized. Albert Gallatin in a Congressional debate in 1796 declared that "If the cause of the happiness of this country was examined into, it would be found to arise as much from the great plenty of land in proportion to the inhabitants, which their citizens enjoyed as from the wisdom of their political institutions."<sup>20</sup>

Professor Turner defines the West as "at bottom . . . a form of society, rather than an area. It is the term applied to the region whose social conditions result from the applications of older institutions and ideas to the transforming influences of free land."<sup>21</sup> He goes further and asserts it to be the true parent of democracy, most commonly supposed to have had a metaphysical sire. "American democracy was born of no theorist's dream; it was not carried in the *Susan Constant* to Virginia, nor in the *Mayflower* to Plymouth. It came out of the American forest, and it gained new strength each time it touched a new frontier. Not the constitution, but free land and an abundance of natural resources open

<sup>19</sup> *Works*, VIII, 141-142.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

to a fit people, made the democratic type of society in America for three centuries while it occupied its empire."<sup>22</sup>

It was in 1837 that Emerson permitted himself to feel "as gay as a canary" over the industrial prospects of New England. But in 1858 we find him telling a Concord audience that

The glory of the farmer is that, it is his part to create. All trade rests on his primitive activity. He stands close to Nature; he obtains from the earth the bread and the meat. . . . Men do not like hard work, but every man has an exceptional respect for tillage, and a feeling that this is the original calling of his race, that he himself is only excused from it by some circumstance which made him delegate it for a time to other hands. . . .

This hard work will always be done by one kind of man; not by scheming speculators, nor by soldiers, nor by professors, nor readers of Tennyson; but by men of endurance—deep-chested, long-winded, tough, slow and sure, and timely.<sup>23</sup>

It is of the highest interest to observe that the same significance seen in the land by Turner and his school, was clearly recognized by Emerson eighty-five years ago:

The bountiful continent is ours, state on state, and territory on territory, to the waves of the Pacific sea; . . . The task of surveying, planting, and building upon this immense tract requires an education and a sentiment commensurate thereto. A consciousness of this fact is beginning to take the place of the purely trading spirit and education which sprang up whilst the population lived on the fringe of sea-coast. And even on the coast, prudent men have begun to see that every American should be educated with a view to the values of land. . . . The land is the appointed remedy for whatever is false and fantastic in our culture. . . . Whatever events in progress shall go to disgust men with cities and infuse into them the passion for country life and country pleasures, will render a service to the whole face of this continent. . . . The vast majority of the people of this country live by the land, and carry its quality in their manners and opinions. . . . I think we must regard the *land* as a commanding and increasing power on the citizen, the sanative and Americanizing influence, which promises to disclose new virtues for ages to come.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.

<sup>23</sup> *Works*, VII, 137, 140.

<sup>24</sup> "The Young American," *Works*, I, 364, 365, 369, 370.

Inseparable from the public lands is the spirit of speculation which they engendered. They were, to all acquisitive Americans, the one inevitable and permanent source of temptation to get rich quick. Hence developed a kind of fever in the national blood, as potent as that produced by gold in '49. Scandals and shady practices early marked the disposal of the public lands. Legislatures sold huge tracts for a few cents an acre to companies composed of their own members. Many a private fortune was so founded. If I have a political friend, or can secure one, and he can induce the legislature to sell me a hundred thousand acres for two cents an acre, which I then dispose of to settlers for \$2.50 an acre, obviously I become a man of substance and worth in the community. The Reverend Timothy Flint complained in 1818 that he had not been invited to Saint Charles, Missouri, out of frontier piety. "Religion," said he, "when I came was considered contemptible. . . . Why did they invite me? On speculation. A minister—a church—a school—are words to flourish in an advertisement to sell lots."<sup>25</sup>

At the Tremont House in Chicago in 1857 Emerson was entertained by tales of the fabulous rise of land values. We can picture him seated in the lobby in the midst of clouds of cigar smoke, listening to the unctuous, rumbling voices of the boomers and speculators spinning their yarns of sudden, easy wealth; then imagine him going upstairs to record these marvels in his journal before supper and the nightly lecture.

'Tis very droll to hear the comic stories of the rising values here, which, ludicrous though they seem, are justified by facts presently. Mr. Corwin's story of land offered for \$50,000, and an hour given to consider of it. The buyer made up his mind to take it, but he could not have it; it was five minutes past the hour, and it was now worth \$60,000. After dinner, he resolved to give the price, but he had overstayed the time again, and it was already \$70,000; and it became \$80,000 before night, when he bought it. I believe it was Mr. Corwin's joke, but the solemn citizens who stood by, heard it approvingly, and said "Yes, that is about the fair growth of Chicago *per hour*." However, a quite parallel case to this, I am told, actually occurred in the sale of the "American House" lot, which rose in a day from perhaps \$40,000, to 50, 60, 70, 80, or 90,000, at which price it was sold. . . .<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, II, 140.

<sup>26</sup> *Journals*, IX, 76-77.

Twenty years earlier he had remarked the speculative spirit which animated the country—a “fever of speculation in Maine and the prairies. . . . A man can make himself believe that a barren sand-bank streams with rivers that shall bear his logs, which are now blackberry bushes, into the Penobscot, which is flowing 90 miles off, quite heedless of his logs or bushes.”<sup>27</sup> And a few years before the Chicago trip alluded to, he had passed judgment on this thirst for unearned increment, and had not then thought it droll: Every man should do what he can; and he was created to augment some real value, and not for a speculator. When he leaves or postpones (as most men do) his proper work, and adopts some short or cunning method, as of watching markets, or farming in any manner the ignorance of people, as, in buying by the acre to sell by the foot, he is fraudulent, he is malefactor, so far; and is bringing society to bankruptcy.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, something of the glow of those far-off flush times gets into the pages of his journals. On a bitter cold night in Beloit, Wisconsin, in January, 1856, he wrote:

I fancied in this fierce cold weather—mercury varying from 20° to 30° below zero for the last week—that Illinois lands would be at a discount, and the agent, who at Dixon was selling great tracts, would be better advised to keep them for milder days, since a hundred miles of prairie in such days as these are not worth the poorest shed or cellar in the towns. But my easy landlord assured me “we had no cold weather in Illinois, only now and then Indian summer and cool nights.” He looked merrily at his window panes, opaque with a stratum of frost, and said that his was a fashionable first-class hotel with window lights of ground glass.<sup>29</sup>

One is reminded of Colonel Sellers seated with his family on a chill night before the empty stove, in which a candle had been placed to shine through the mica door and produce the illusion of warmth. The same spirit of frontier optimism born of speculation animated Emerson’s real Illinois innkeeper and Mark Twain’s fictitious, sanguine Missouri Colonel.

## V

Emerson’s doctrine of self-reliance is the natural complement of the individualism bred by the frontier. In him it is refined,

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 137-138.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 467.

<sup>29</sup> *Journals*, IX, 7.

rationalized, and given a metaphysical sanction. He hails it with satisfaction many times as an American trait; but when he wishes to account for it, he does not assume for the American race freer access to the Over-Soul than have other, less-favored, peoples, but assigns it to as material a cause as would any economic or geographic interpreter of history. "In the planters of this country," said he in a lecture during the war, "the conditions of the country, combined with the impatience of arbitrary power which they brought from England, forced them to a wonderful personal independence. . . . Later this strength appeared in the solitudes of the West, where a man is made a hero by the varied emergencies of his lonely farm. . . . Thus the land and sea educate the people, and bring out presence of mind, self-reliance, and hundred-handed activity."<sup>30</sup> And again he ascribed individualism to the "paucity of population, the vast extent of territory, and the solitude of each family and each man. . . ."<sup>31</sup> It was the presence ever in front of him of the wilderness that enabled the colonist to say, when the over-seas government attempted to regulate his conduct: "Here in the clam-banks and the beech and chestnut forests, I shall take leave to breathe and think freely. If you do not like it, if you molest me, I can cross the brook and plant a new state out of reach of anything but squirrels and wild pigeons."<sup>32</sup>

Individualism, of course, supports the theory of *laissez-faire* in government and tends to deprecate the necessity for government at all. "I own," says Emerson, "I have little esteem for governments. . . . I set the private man first. . . ."<sup>33</sup> "The basis of political economy is non-interference. The only safe rule is found in the self-adjusting meter of demand and supply. . . . Open the doors of opportunity to talent and virtue and they will do themselves justice, and property will not be in bad hands."<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, Emerson here supplied the argument which has been advanced against every piece of social legislation in the United States during the last half-century. Thus did the idealist and lover of justice string the bow and tip the arrow for the very materialists whose activities he decried.

<sup>30</sup> *Works*, XI, 534-535.

<sup>31</sup> *Journals*, X, 337.

<sup>32</sup> "Boston," *Works*, XII, 202.

<sup>33</sup> "Speech on Affairs in Kansas," *Works*, XI, 258.

<sup>34</sup> "Wealth," *Works*, VI, 105-106.

## VI

Emerson's feelings on the subject of democracy were mixed. We have seen in the section on land, how his exaltation of the rôle of the farmer made of him a Jeffersonian and a physiocrat.<sup>35</sup> At other times he gave expression to John Adams's simple theory of society, that "The people in all nations are divided into two sorts, the gentlemen and the simplemen";<sup>36</sup> or Madison's dictum that "Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society."<sup>37</sup> One feels, after studying his various utterances, that Emerson would like to give his full approval to democracy, but that in many of its practical results it offended his fastidiousness. Thus, he rejoices that democracy has made knowledge common property. "What is good that is said or written now lies nearer to men's business and bosoms than of old. What is good goes now to all. What was good a century ago is written under the manifest belief that it was as safe from the eye of the common people as from the Tartars. . . . The human race have got possession."<sup>38</sup> Again, he was glad that "Ours is the country of poor men. Here is practical democracy; here is the human race poured out over the continent to do itself justice; all mankind in its shirt-sleeves; not grimacing like poor rich men in cities, pretending to be rich, but unmistakably taking off its coat to hard work, when labor is sure to pay."<sup>39</sup> And, although democracy has as yet achieved only an "unbuttoned comfort, not clean, not thoughtful, far from polished," yet he looked for something better from it, since the citizen was "honest and kind for the most part, understanding his own rights and stiff to maintain them, and disposed to give his children a better education than he received."<sup>40</sup> He believed further that "the removal of absurd restrictions and antique inequalities" tended to elevate the general intelligence, for "The mind is always better the more it is used, and here it is kept in practice. The humblest is daily challenged to give his opinion

<sup>35</sup> For Jefferson's agrarianism, see his *Writings*, edited by H. A. Washington, I, 403, 465. His views are excellently summed up in Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 358 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Life and Works*, "Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States," Ch. I.

<sup>37</sup> *The Federalist*, Ford's edition, pp. 56-57.

<sup>38</sup> *Journals*, IV, 94-95.

<sup>39</sup> *Works*, XI, 526.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.



on practical questions. . . ."<sup>41</sup> He was, if not "gay as a canary," at least content when he got into "our first-class cars on the Fitchburg Road to see sweltering men in their shirt-sleeves take their seats with some well-dressed men and women, and see really the very little difference of level that is between them all. . . ."<sup>42</sup>

But as a young man he had doubts "whether or not the *populace* of all ages is essentially the same in character. . . . There can be no question that from the poles to the Equator, under every sun, man will be found *selfish* and comparatively indifferent to the general welfare, whenever it is put in competition with private interest."<sup>43</sup> This is hardly the believer in the essential goodness of human nature. "Aristocracy is a good sign," he wrote in his twenty-first year. "It must be everywhere. 'T were the greatest calamity to have it abolished. . . ."<sup>44</sup> When Jackson's election seemed imminent, he wrote in his journal:

Public opinion, I am sorry to say, will bear a great deal of nonsense. There is scarce any absurdity so gross, whether in religion, politics, science, or manners, which it will not bear. . . . It will bear Andrew Jackson for President. . . . Lord Bacon never spoke truer word than when he said, There's more of the fool in the world than of the wise.<sup>45</sup>

Six years later, in the middle of Jackson's second term, he referred to the Democrats as "this rank rabble party, the Jacksonism of the country, heedless of English and of all literature—a stone cut out of the ground without hands. . . ." and declared that if he were too much in love with life he "would go to a Jackson Caucus or to the Julian Hall, and I doubt not the unmixed malignity, the withering selfishness, the impudent vulgarity, that mark those meetings would speedily cure me of my appetite for longevity."<sup>46</sup> He was grateful that "In the hush of these woods I find no Jackson placards affixed to the trees," and as an afterthought added, "We republicans do libel the monarchist."<sup>47</sup> But he salvaged some comfort from the situation in the hope that "they may root out the hollow dilettantism of our cultivation in the coarsest way, and the newborn may begin again to frame their own world with greater advantage."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 516.

<sup>42</sup> *Journals*, VII, 477.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 134-135.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 311.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 228-229.

<sup>46</sup> *Journals*, III, 308, 404-405.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 405.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 308.

The democracy which raised Van Buren to the presidency was an alliance of the frontier Jacksonians and of Eastern labor. The Concord philosopher, pacing beneath the village elms on a day in October, 1838, witnessed a scene which moved him to go home and confide to his journal in bitterness of spirit: "I passed by the shop and saw my spruce neighbor, the dictator of our rural Jacobins [*i.e.*, the Van Burenites], teaching his little circle of villagers their political lessons. And here, thought I, is one who loves what I hate: here is one wholly reversing my code. I hate persons who are nothing but persons. I hate numbers. He cares for nothing but numbers and persons."<sup>49</sup>

Time after time he subscribes to the Federalistic theory that the possession of wealth is indisputable evidence of the possession of intelligence and virtue, and that from this circumstance arise the divisions of party. That gentlemen "should possess and dispense the goods of the world" "is a natural result of personal force."<sup>50</sup> Hence, it is true of property that "if it fall level today, it will be blown into drifts tomorrow."<sup>51</sup> From the unequal division of wealth come political parties. "The scrupulous and law-abiding become Whigs, the unscrupulous and energetic are Locofocos."<sup>52</sup> Compare this with Hamilton's dictum that "All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and wellborn, the other the mass of the people. . . . The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right."<sup>53</sup> But there is clearly a conflict of feeling in Emerson. On another occasion, after he has again recognized the economic basis of politics, he states the case for the have-nots:

In the republic must always happen what happened here, that the steamboats and stages and hotels vote one way and the nation votes the other: and it seems . . . intolerable that Broad Street Paddies and bar-room politicians, the sots and loafers and all manner of ragged and unclean and foulmouthed persons without a dollar in their pockets should control the property of the country and make the lawgiver and the law. But is that any more than their share whilst you hold property selfishly? They are opposed to you: yes, but first you are opposed to

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 76.

<sup>50</sup> *Works*, III, 123.

<sup>51</sup> Farrand, *Records of the Federal Constitution of 1787*, I, 299.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 37.

<sup>53</sup> *Journals*, VII, 205-206.

them: they, to be sure, malevolently, with songs and rowdies and mobs; you cunningly, plausibly, and well-bred; you cheat and they strike; you sleep and eat at their expense; they vote and threaten and sometimes throw stones, at yours.<sup>54</sup>

And on another occasion he observes that "Fear for ages had boded and mowed and gibbered over government and property. That obscene bird is not there for nothing. He indicates great wrongs which must be revised."<sup>55</sup> Again, he finds in America "the narrowest contraction of ethics to the one duty of paying money. Pay that, and you may play the tyrant at discretion and never look back to the fatal question,—where had you the money that you paid?"<sup>56</sup> But on a day in March, 1846, he sounds the note of unequivocal detestation for the rule of the many: "Majorities, the argument of fools, the strength of the weak. One should recall what Laertius records as Socrates' opinion of the common people, that it was as if a man should except against one piece of bad money, and accept a great sum of the same."<sup>57</sup> Here speaks the heir of two centuries of New England culture, the aristocrat, the Brahmin.

What, then, shall we conclude about Emerson and democracy? Perhaps this: although the many lack wisdom, thereby is given no sanction to exploit them. Perhaps the best rule is *noblesse*—if the *oblige* be not forgotten. The rich must answer "the fatal question,—where had you the money that you paid?"

From the evidence it appears that Emerson, growing up in Federalistic Boston, accepted in his salad days its main tenets: first, that differences in natural ability create differences in property; second, that unguarded human nature cannot be trusted to conduct government and society. The conclusion from these premises,—that it is therefore the business of government to protect the interests of the propertied classes,—if he ever reached, he had abandoned, however, by the time of the essay on "Politics" (1844), where he declares:

That principle no longer looks so self-evident as it appeared in former times, partly, because doubts have arisen whether too much weight had not been allowed in the laws, to property, and such a structure given to

<sup>54</sup> *Journals*, VI, 99-100.

<sup>55</sup> *Works*, II, 112.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 62-63.

<sup>57</sup> *Journals*, VII, 148.

our usages, as allowed the rich to encroach on the poor, and to keep them poor; but mainly, because there is an instinctive sense, however obscure and yet inarticulate, that the whole constitution of property, on its present tenures, is injurious, and its influence on persons deteriorating and degrading; that truly . . . the highest end of government is the culture of men.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, under the influence of the liberalizing thought of men like the elder Channing,<sup>59</sup> under the pressure of his conviction of all men's share in the divine goodness, Emerson became the critic of Federalism and its successor Whiggery, of commercial, industrial America. He clearly perceived the frontier origins of our democracy and the frontier elements in it, but shared his dislike of its crudities, its indifference to culture ("heedless of English and of all literature," he called it), its faith in mere numbers, with an equal dislike of the materialism of the industrial, Whiggish East.

## VII

We have seen how Emerson observed that New England and the East were turning to manufactures. Presently they would make the staple demand of their politics a protective tariff and a sound system of banking and currency—that is, a system that would insure among other things the collection of their debts from the West. This interest was represented by the Whig party.

But the interests of the agricultural West were different. In the first place, it needed transportation; in the second place, it needed credit. The settler needed money for three things: first, to move to the frontier; second, to pay for his land; third, to live till he grew his first crop.<sup>60</sup> Thus, the whole West began its economic life heavily plastered with mortgages. Now, by some unfortunate defect of human nature, Christian charity never subsists for long between debtor and creditor. The resultant antagonism between the agrarian West and the industrial East has continued down to our own times. The West said: "The East has a monopoly on capital. It buys the farmer's corn cheap and sells him his corn-

<sup>58</sup> *Works*, III, 203-204.

<sup>59</sup> On the relations of Emerson and Channing, see Cabot, *Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, I, 102. For Emerson's estimate of Channing, see *Works*, IX, 339-40; X, 166; *Uncollected Writings*, "The Death of Dr. Channing" (from *The Dial*, January, 1843).

<sup>60</sup> See Frederick Logan Paxson, *A History of the American Frontier*, p. 226.

planter dear because of its protective tariff. It invests millions in railroads which suck the lifeblood out of the farmer with extortionate rates. Through control of politics and legislation, it taxes the farmer high and lets the rich manufacturer escape with less than his share. When times are hard, it forecloses its mortgages and seizes the fruit of the farmer's toil; and when he wants an increased currency to break its monopoly of the money market, it calls him an unsound radical."

The East replied: "The West is turbulent; it does not love law and order. It wants to escape its just debts. It spawns crack-brained economists as a carcass spawns maggots, and afflicts us with a perennial plague of Sockless Jerry Simpsons, Silver Dick Blands, Henry Georges, General Coxey, and William Jennings Bryans—with Grangers, Greenbackers, Populists, and Non-Partisan Leaguers."

The election in 1828 marks the first triumph of the West—an expression of its resentment against the money power of the East. With the inevitable demagogic elements and the vulgarity of the Jacksonian upheaval, Emerson had little sympathy, as we have seen. But when he turned his eyes to the commercial-industrial activities of the Whiggish East, his earlier canary-bird gaiety largely deserted him.

A question that well deserves examination now is the Dangers of Commerce. This invasion of Nature by Trade with its Money, its Credit, its steam, its Railroad, threatens to upset the balance of man, and establish a new, universal Monarchy more tyrannical than Babylon or Rome. Very faint and few are the poets or men of God. Those who remain are so antagonistic to this tyranny that they appear mad or morbid, and are treated as such.<sup>61</sup>

The great enthusiasm which, as we have seen, was aroused in him by the marvelous riches of the country, was tempered when he saw the failure to put them to the high uses he hoped for. "America seems to have immense resources, land, men, milk, butter, cheese, timber, and iron, but it is a village littleness;—village squabble and rapacity characterize its policy."<sup>62</sup> An especially pungent passage occurs in the "Editors' Address" in the first number of the short-lived *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* in 1847:

<sup>61</sup> *Journals*, V, 285.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 218.

Keep our eyes as long as we can on this picture, we cannot stave off the ulterior question, . . . the WHERE TO of all this power and population, these surveys and inventions, this taxing and tabulating, mill-privilege, roads and mines. The aspect this country presents is a certain maniacal activity, an immense apparatus of cunning machinery which turns out, at last, some Nuremburg toys.<sup>63</sup>

This is no different in kind, or in the sting of it, from the criticisms of our modern Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, and H. L. Menckens.

In view of the rôle which the tariff played between East and West, it is interesting to hear what Emerson has to say on it. He clearly perceived where the division of interest lay: "as for the tariff that interests only a few rich gentlemen in Boston and Philadelphia."<sup>64</sup> And as for free trade, though he readily admitted he was no economist, yet his instinct, his reason, and his sense of justice put him on the side of all good Jeffersonians and agrarians.<sup>65</sup>

I have no knowledge of trade and there is not the sciolist who cannot shut my mouth and my understanding by strings of facts that seem to prove the wisdom of tariffs. If the Creator has made oranges, coffee, and pineapples in Cuba, and has refused them to Massachusetts, I cannot see why we should put a fine on the Cubans for bringing these to us . . . to gladden the very cottages here. We punish the planter there and punish the consumer here for adding these benefits to life.<sup>66</sup>

. . . free trade is certainly the interest of nations, but by no means the interest of certain towns and districts, which tariff feeds fat.<sup>67</sup>

Though he conceded approvingly that the Whig defenders and beneficiaries of the tariff were the "active, enterprising, intelligent, well-meaning, and wealthy part of the people,"<sup>68</sup> on another occasion he rebuked them, for, said he, their eyes are "only on money. . . . They are the shop-till party."<sup>69</sup>

## VIII

The peculiar importance to the West of the railroads is obvious. But let us have the contemporary testimony of Emerson on the point. At Washington, Iowa, in 1867 he wrote:

<sup>63</sup> *Works*, XI, 384-385.

<sup>64</sup> *Journals*, VIII, 265.

<sup>65</sup> On Jefferson and the tariff, see Beard, *op. cit.*

<sup>66</sup> *Journals*, X, 228.

<sup>67</sup> *Journals*, VII, 12.

<sup>68</sup> *Works*, XI, 301.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 311.

As soon as these people have got a shanty built to cover them, and have raised one crop of wheat, they want a railroad, as the breath of life; and after one railroad, then a competing railroad. The first, because a railroad station is an instant market for the wheat; a second, because the first charges its own rates for freight, which takes half the price of their crop, or, as much money to get it from their farm to Chicago as it costs to get it from Chicago to New York. And the second road underbids the first, and every new road underbids that.<sup>70</sup>

He recognized, further, the political importance of the roads: "Now that the man was ready, the horse was brought. . . . To us Americans it seems to have fallen as a political aid. We could not else have held the vast North America together which now we engage to do."<sup>71</sup>

His own interest in the subject was immense. In *The Daily Leader* of Menominee, Wisconsin, in 1903, a certain Mr. Brown gives his recollections of an interview with Emerson at Saginaw at the time when work had just begun on the first railroad to Puget Sound: "Emerson felt the greatest interest in the project. . . . It strongly appealed to his imagination and his feelings, and nothing in his lecture the following evening approached the lofty and sustained eloquence in which he clothed the subject."<sup>72</sup> When the first short roads were building in the East, Emerson remarked the widespread, eager interest in them, an interest which became a national madness like the other cosmic rages which seized the people—land hunger, speculation fever, gold fever. "The Railroads is the only sure topic for conversation in these days. That is the only one which interests farmers, merchants, boys, women, saints, philosophers, and fools. . . . The Railroad is that work of art which agitates and drives mad the whole people."<sup>73</sup> He himself was stimulated to a lyrical outburst by the new elixir of progress:

I hear the whistle of the locomotive in the woods. Wherever that music comes it has its sequel. It is the voice of the civility of the Nineteenth Century saying, "Here I am." It is interrogative: it is prophetic: and this Cassandra is believed: "Whew! Whew! Whew! How is real estate here in the swamp and wilderness? Ho for Boston! Whew! Whew! Down with that forest on the side of the hill. I want ten thou-

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 183-184.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 7.

<sup>72</sup> Reprinted in *Journals*, X, 182.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 504.

sand chestnut sleepers. I want cedar posts and thousands of feet of boards. Up! my masters of oak and pine! You have waited long enough—a good part of a century in the wind and stupid sky. Ho for axes and saws, and away with me to Boston! Whew! Whew! I will plant a dozen houses on this pasture next moon, and a village anon; and I will sprinkle yonder square mile with white houses like the broken snow-banks that strow it in March.<sup>74</sup>

But when the fumes of the heady new draught had evaporated a little, he declared:

Railroads are to civilization what mathematics were to the mind. Their immense promise made the whole world nervous with hope and fear, and they leave society as they found it. The man gets out of the railroad car at the end of five hundred miles in every respect the same as he got in.<sup>75</sup>

In the first flush of Western railroad building, many of the states engaged in railway enterprise, but recklessly and extravagantly. Then came the hard times of the years after 1837, which were aggravated by bad railroad finance. Some realistic and concrete details of that lean period of the frontier come to us from the *Journals*, where Emerson records that "pork was worth twelve shillings a hundred, and men journeyed with loads of wheat and pork a hundred miles or more to Chicago, and sold their wheat for twenty-six cents a bushel, and were obliged to sell their team to get home again. Mr. Jenks, a stage agent and livery-stable keeper, told us of his experiences, and when he left Chicago to go eastward, he would not have given \$3.00 for a warranty deed of the state of Illinois."<sup>76</sup>

From the great period of transcontinental building that followed the war, comes an interesting bit of prophecy that has seen fulfillment:

A banker, Mr. Manger, told me that such is the promise of the investments of the undertakers of the Pacific Railroad, that vaster fortunes will be made in this country than were ever amassed by private men: that men now alive will perhaps come to own a thousand millions of dollars. 'T is well that the Constitution of the United States has forbidden

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 322-323.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 297.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 9.



entails, and the only defense of the people against this private power is from Death the Distributor.<sup>77</sup>

Alas for his hope, Death, generally so trustworthy, has failed the people here. Emerson could not foresee the trust fund, and our millionaire dynasties now in the fourth generation.

Emerson's personal contact and connection with the roads were peculiarly close. In the first place, his lecture trips compelled him to use them more perhaps than any other New England man of letters. Moreover, he had family connections with the new enterprise. His daughter Edith's father-in-law, John Murray Forbes,<sup>78</sup> of Boston, was, as the editors of the *Journals* call him, the *deus ex machina*<sup>79</sup> of the early Western roads. After the failure of the Michigan Central, a \$5,000,000 state project, Forbes, with others, in 1845 bought it for two million and proceeded to rejuvenate it. Daniel Webster was brought all the way from Massachusetts to write the new charter.<sup>80</sup> Of those associated with Forbes, John W. Brooks, Reuben N. Rice, the Hurd brothers, and others from Concord or nearby villages, were Emerson's friends and always ready to show him courtesy on his Western trips.<sup>81</sup>

Of his solitary venture in railroad investment he has left us a brief rueful note: "I took such pains," he says, "not to keep my money in the house, but to put it out of the reach of burglars by buying stock, and had no guess that I was putting it into the hands of these very burglars now grown wiser and standing dressed as Railway Directors."<sup>82</sup>

## IX

The West never lost its interest, its fascination for Emerson. On a winter's day in Fond du Lac in his sixty-fourth year he wrote, "Minneapolis would strongly attract me, if I were a young man . . . and this town is a wonderful growth and shines like a dream, seen this morning from the top of Amory Hall."<sup>83</sup> Only once, however, did his Western travels take him as far as the Pacific Coast. In

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 230.

<sup>78</sup> For a short account of Forbes's life, with a portrait, see *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, III, 142.

<sup>79</sup> *Journals*, VIII, 114.

<sup>80</sup> See John W. Starr, Jr., *One Hundred Years of American Railroading*, pp. 185-186.

<sup>81</sup> *Works*, VI, 86, n. 1.

<sup>82</sup> *Journals*, IX, 122.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 181.

the spring of 1871, when the grass had scarce had time to heal the scars of cut and fill on the newly completed Union Pacific, he made the journey in the private car of John Murray Forbes. Though he had not intended to lecture, his fame had preceded him, and he was invited to speak, which he did, twice in San Francisco, once in Oakland, and several times in other neighboring towns. One of the San Francisco lectures was that on "Resources," which must gratefully have tickled the ears of the California boosters. With the rest of the party he did the usual things in the way of sight-seeing—watched the seals on the rocks off San Francisco, visited the Yosemite, quietly marveling at its wonders, and, astride a piebald pony, rode among the great sequoias of Mariposa.<sup>84</sup>

He has left few notes of the trip. One, as attesting his still unwearied hope and serenity, deserves inclusion here:

California is teaching in its history and its poetry the good of evil, and confirming my thought, one day in Five Points in New York, twenty years ago, that the ruffians and Amazons in that district were only superficially such, but carried underneath this bronze about the same morals as their civil and well-dressed neighbors.<sup>85</sup>

Here is one of the few bits of evidence to show that Emerson was much aware of the new school of Western writers that sprang up after the war. The names of Mark Twain and John Hay occur nowhere in the *Journals*, and Bret Harte is mentioned only once, when he came to call on Emerson. On this occasion the mining camp experience of Harte and the idealism of his host clashed. "Bret Harte," said he, "referred to my essay on Civilization, that the piano comes so quickly into the shanty, etc. [the phrase was, "'T is wonderful how soon a piano gets into a log hut on the frontier,"<sup>86</sup> implying that it got there through the agency of the inner, civilizing impulse] and said, 'Do you know that, on the contrary, it is vice that brings them in? It is the gamblers who bring in the music to California. It is the prostitute who brings in the New York fashions of dress there, and so throughout.' I told him that I spoke also from Pilgrim experience, and knew on good grounds the resistless culture that religion effects."<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> For an account of this Western trip, see James Bradley Thayer, *A Western Journey with Mr. Emerson*.

<sup>85</sup> *Journals*, X, 355.

<sup>86</sup> *Works*, VII, 21.

<sup>87</sup> *Journals*, X, 362-363.

In 1844 he had deplored the fact that we dare not chaunt our "own times and social circumstance," that "the western clearing, Oregon, and Texas, are yet unsung."<sup>88</sup> Now when it was being done, it seemed not to bulk large in his attention, to get a hold only on the periphery of his mind. True, we are told he liked certain passages in *The Innocents Abroad*,<sup>89</sup> and he had personal contacts with Mark Twain, but that vivid personality seems to have stimulated him but little. However, the work of the new writers was only beginning near the end of his active career. Had he been ten or fifteen years younger, they must have much more impressed him, considering his lifelong interest in the West. For this was the authentic voice of the Frontier, exploiting native American, frontier material.<sup>90</sup>

After his return from California, Emerson made one more lecture trip as far west as Iowa. Back in Concord, in one of the last entries made in the *Journals*—his lifelong confidant—he said, "Home again from Chicago, Quincy, Springfield and Dubuque, which I had not believed I should see again, yet found it easier to visit than before, and the kindest reception in each city."<sup>91</sup> He never saw them again, for he was now an old man. No more would he sleep on the floors of canal boat cabins, cross the Mississippi on the ice,<sup>92</sup> or endure the bitter cold of the prairies; no more carry his richly stored pack out among the "stout Illinoisians," who, he once wrote, sometimes "at the lyceum . . . after a short trial [walked] out of the hall"; who were "well-disposed, kindly people . . . these sinewy farmers," but who wanted from a lecturer most of all a "hearty laugh," and "in all that is called cultivation [were] only ten years old."<sup>93</sup>

Emerson's debt to European and Oriental thought has been often demonstrated. If he ever borrowed a phrase from the most obscure German idealist, from the most esoteric of Buddhist sages,<sup>94</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *Works*, III, 37-38.

<sup>89</sup> See Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, II, 603 ff.

<sup>90</sup> See Fred Lewis Pattee, *A History of American Literature since 1870*, for a good account of the new Western literature.

<sup>91</sup> *Journals*, X, 371.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 585.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 3-4.

<sup>94</sup> See, e.g., J. S. Harrison, *The Teachers of Emerson*; A. E. Christy, "Emerson's Debt to the Orient," *The Monist*, XXXVIII, 38-64; F. I. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*.

the fact has been dug up and triumphantly exhibited. But the close relation between his doctrine and the America of his time has been curiously neglected.<sup>95</sup> Of the two factors entering into his thought, foreign philosophy and native culture, the former seems, by comparison, accidental. Emerson was in revolt against the harsh theology of Puritanism. Yet, he was unable to abandon a teleological view of the world. He found the Platonic-Hegelian-Coleridgean transcendental scheme most ready to hand and most congenial to his temperament. He took it and employed it to give order and purpose to the drama of an unfolding society. The cardinal points of his teaching—optimism, melioration, democracy, individualism, self-reliance—derive their chief sanction and meaning from the psychology bred by the American frontier.

<sup>95</sup> See, however, Lucy Lockwood Hazard, *The Frontier in American Literature*.

# THE POPULARITY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN HUMORISTS

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JUST HOW popular were the writers of American humor in the years of the last century during which they were most active (c. 1830-c. 1896)? The question seems worth considering for at least three reasons. An answer will reveal just how true is the impression, fostered by hostile critics of the period, that the great reading public existed on a diet of nothing much except the sugary fare offered by ladies' books and popular romances. Further, an answer will, perhaps, help one understand why *Innocents Abroad* found thirty-one thousand buyers within six months of its appearance and thus launched Mark Twain's remarkable career. And finally, if—as historians have recently held—American humorists were important as predecessors of the realists, data on this subject of popularity will indicate to some extent how these heralds managed to make themselves heard. For these reasons, I have attempted to discover and record some of the facts which show how the nineteenth-century literary comedians recruited an audience.

## I

Several factors, apparently, were important in giving American humor the prominence which it achieved. An early and lasting stimulus to a wide interest in native comic creations, it is probable, was the stage presentation by many actors of humorous American characters. When *The Contrast* was performed in 1787, the stage Yankee, Jonathan, stumbled into the theater for the first time, spouting slang, parading his rustic foibles. The play was a pronounced success,<sup>1</sup> and as a natural result of its popularity, dozens of other dramas portraying similarly vulgar characters followed.<sup>2</sup> Not only the Yankee but also other figures important in the new humor of

<sup>1</sup>For details concerning the success of the play, see G. O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1888-1891), II, 275-285.

<sup>2</sup>A history of such characters is given in Perley Isaac Reed's "The Realistic Presentation of American Characters in Native American Plays Prior to Eighteen Seventy," *Ohio State University Bulletin*, May, 1918, Vol. XXII, no. 26.

America were portrayed. Ralph Stackpole, frontiersman in *Nick of the Woods*, was a successful stage figure. Davy Crockett, comedian of the canebrakes, Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, and other frontiersmen pleased audiences in New York and the provinces. Minstrel troupes offered boisterous blackface jokers who used typical American humor, including some of the jests of Artemus Ward. One play, *Eli Among the Cowboys*, pictured Eli Perkins captured by plainsmen during a lecture tour in Wyoming.<sup>3</sup> At least two newspaper paragraphers, J. Amroy Knox and Charles H. Hoyt, became playwrights whose dramas were successful. Thus, throughout the period, humor of the salty native type found its way to the stage.

Actors made reputations as portrayers of Yankees or kindred types. Ludlow, dressed in the picturesque costume of a Western boatman, roared out the words of "The Hunters of Kentucky" while rough audiences in showhouses along the Ohio and Mississippi applauded with "a prolonged whoop, or howl. . . ."<sup>4</sup> J. H. Hackett was Nimrod Wildfire, Jonathan Ploughboy, and Solon Shingle. Yankee Hill won fame in England as well as America by portraying Yankee types. Joseph Jefferson was applauded as he played the rôle of Asa Trenchard. Chanfrau triumphed as Mose, the tough fire-boy, and John T. Raymond as Mark Twain's Colonel Mulberry Sellers in *The Gilded Age*.<sup>5</sup> Some actors, in addition to playing character parts, offered monologues—Dr. W. Valentine, Sol Smith, Sol Smith Russell, and Yankee Hill. These monologues, composed by the actors or perhaps in some cases by humorists,<sup>6</sup> augmented the flood of humorous books, in which monologues were often an important feature.<sup>7</sup> And when J. H. Hackett went to *The New York Leader* as a journalist, writing lines similar to those which he spoke on the stage, he gave printed humor an impetus his stage career had made possible.

<sup>3</sup> Eli Perkins, *Thirty Years of Wit* (New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1891), pp. 295-296.

<sup>4</sup> Archer B. Hulbert, *The Paths of Inland Commerce* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), pp. 62-63.

<sup>5</sup> For a brief account of these actors, see Arthur Hornblow, *A History of the Theatre in America* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919), II, 64-65, 68-69.

<sup>6</sup> Burdette may have prepared some monologues for Sol Smith Russell. See Clara B. Burdette, *Robert J. Burdette: His Message* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1922), p. 126.

<sup>7</sup> Valentine, Smith, and Hill published volumes of anecdotes.

## II

Thus to the theater audiences of the period the new humor became familiar. An even vaster audience, the group interested in politics, found much material in native comic writings to interest it. As Joel Chandler Harris said:

First and last, humor has played a very large part in our political campaigns; in fact, it may be said that it has played almost as large a part as principle—which is the name that politicians give to their theories. It is a fact that . . . the happy allusion, the humorous anecdote . . . will change the whole prospects of a political struggle.<sup>8</sup>

A large part of the humor between 1830 and the end of the century dealt with political themes. Major Jack Downing, from the start of his literary career, and the imitators of Jack Downing as well, constantly commented shrewdly upon political struggles. Davy Crockett, with whom Downing carried on some correspondence, was apparently exploited as a political figure; and his writings were necessarily tied up with current contests.<sup>9</sup> The story of Simon Suggs was written in the guise of a campaign biography, and *Major Jones's Travels* and Bagby's *Letters of Mozis Addums* contain political comments. W. P. Trent notes the preoccupation of humorists with politics:

Lowell being put to one side, there are at least five political humorists of importance belonging to the eventful years 1830-70 . . . Seba Smith, Charles Augustus Davis (1795-1867), Robert Henry Newell (1836-1901), the "Orpheus C. Kerr" whose letters gave Lincoln needed relaxation. . . , Charles Henry Smith ("Bill Arp," born in 1826), and David R. Locke [Petroleum V. Nasby]. To these one is almost tempted to add Richard Grant White, whose *New Gospel of Peace* . . . [was] a clever and very popular parody of the style of the historical books of the Old Testament.<sup>10</sup>

To the list also may be added Artemus Ward, whose political writings were, if not numerous, telling.

During the years when several of these political humorists were active, one of America's outstanding political figures did much to

<sup>8</sup> *The World's Wit and Humor: American* (New York: Review of Reviews Company, 1906), I, xx.

<sup>9</sup> See V. L. Parrington, *The Romantic Revolution in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927), pp. 172-179.

<sup>10</sup> "Retrospect of American Humor," *Century*, LXIII, 54-55 (November, 1901).

focus attention on contemporary humorous works. Lincoln, as Professor Pattee has pointed out, "stood in the limelight of the Presidency, transacting the nation's business with anecdotes from the frontier circuits, meeting hostile critics with shrewd border philosophy, and reading aloud with unction, while battles were raging or election returns were in doubt, from 'Artemus Ward,' or 'Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby,' or *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*—favorites of his because they too were genuine, excerpts not from books but from life itself."<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, there were few important comic journals which did not battle valiantly in the field of politics. The pages of *John Donkey* (1848), *Vanity Fair* (1859-63), *Puck* (1877-1907), and *Judge* (1888-) were full of political cartoons and satires. Newspaper comic men constantly carried on political conflicts in the period after the war as before the war: Locke, Peck, "Brick" Pomeroy of *The La Crosse Democrat*, Bailey, Burdette, and Eli Perkins. It was not a mere accident that one of the most vicious fictional attacks upon industrial control in politics was made by a humorist, Mark Twain, in *The Gilded Age*. The tradition of the use of political material for humorous purposes was extended through the whole period down to the jestings of Mr. Dooley and Will Rogers about statesmen and demagogues. The nation always has been interested in frank and amusing comments upon political events.

### III

The newspapers were active in carrying this humorous material into every part of the nation. Not long after 1830, every paper that could discover a comic writer on its staff was encouraging him to provide amusement for its readers. A few comments indicate how the practice of publishing humor grew. In 1847, *Yankee Doodle* said:

After the perusal of our exchanges we could not but conclude that the demand for wit has increased of late to an alarming extent throughout the press of the country, and that as usual the supply has been equal to the demand. The whole editorial corps must have deadly designs

<sup>11</sup> *A History of American Literature since 1870* (New York: The Century Co., 1917), pp. 27-28.



upon the community which they propose to accomplish by making it "laugh itself to death" collectively.<sup>12</sup>

In 1866, *The North American Review* remarked, with mock concern:

... Our own Boston Daily Advertiser—a bulwark of resistance against needless and unauthorized innovations, a host in itself to withstand temptations of levity and trifling—has yielded so far to this demand [for humorous columns in the newspaper] that, though not yet a professedly comic paper, it has introduced a series of general paragraphs of a nature light and humorous enough to make the old issues turn in their very files for amazement. Far and wide, daily, weekly, and monthly publications issue from the press to face us with at least one feature smiling.<sup>13</sup>

Six years later, a historian of American journalism said:

Our four or five thousand daily and weekly publications have columns of 'Nuts to Crack,' 'Sunbeams,' 'Sparks from the Telegraph,' 'Freshest Gleanings,' 'Odds and Ends,' 'News Sprinklings,' 'Flashes of Fun,' 'Random Readings,' 'Mere Mentions,' 'Humor of the Day,' 'Quaint Sayings,' 'Current Notes,' 'Things in General,' 'Brevities,' 'Witticisms,' 'Notes of the Day,' 'Jottings,' 'All Sorts,' 'Editor's Drawer,' 'Sparks,' 'Fun and Folly,' 'Fact and Fiction,' 'Twinklings.'

These are the daily dishes set before our sovereigns. They are the comic departments of the regular Press. We need not count the names of our wits and humorists on the ends of our fingers. . . . We are a nation full of such characters, perhaps a little thin here and there, but always in abundance and in good humor. . . . Our wit . . . goes into all the papers.<sup>14</sup>

And a year later, in 1873, Edmund Clarence Stedman, one of the old school, a little frightened and somewhat disgusted, was writing to a friend: "The whole country, owing to the *contagion* of our American exchange system, is flooded, deluged, swamped, beneath a muddy tide of slang, vulgarity, inartistic bathos, impertinence and buffoonery that is not wit." He blamed Hay and Harte and par-

<sup>12</sup> "Witty Paragraphs," *Yankee Doodle*, II, 113 (June 19, 1847).

<sup>13</sup> Review of Artemus Ward's *Travels* in *The North American Review*, CII, 589 (April, 1866).

<sup>14</sup> Frederick Hudson, *Journalism in the United States from 1690-1872* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), pp. 695-696.

ticularly cited Josh Billings and "The Danbury News man" as responsible with them for what he called "the present *horrible* degeneracy in public taste."<sup>15</sup>

In 1880, when Nye, the last great figure of the old school, began his career, the paper which did not have a humorous column was exceptional. *The Asheville Journal*, *The Boston Post*, *The Oil City Derrick*, *The Philadelphia Bulletin*, *The Oshkosh Banner*, *The San Francisco Post*, *The Ouray Solid Muldoon*, and thousands of others purveyed humorous writings which were read in villages and hamlets as well as cities.<sup>16</sup>

These numerous papers did not stop with the publication of the jests of their own humorists; in addition, they published material picked up from other publications. This practice was widespread, as *The Boneville Trumpet* (Bridgeport, Connecticut) pointed out at the top of a column headed, "Our Grab Gag":

. . . everybody is informed that GOAKS found in this column never cost this establishment a cent; the Editor having adopted the *grab-game* (at present so popular with the majority of authors and editors of literary papers), not being able to pay the prices demanded for such by patentees themselves.<sup>17</sup>

Giving credit sometimes, often withholding it,<sup>18</sup> newspapers and

<sup>15</sup> Letter to Bayard Taylor, September 16, 1873, in Laura Stedman and G. M. Gould, *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman* (New York: Moffatt, Yard and Company, 1910), I, 447. The italics are Stedman's.

<sup>16</sup> A list including only the most popular would name, in addition to the above, *Atlanta Constitution*, *Baltimore Every Saturday*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Bloomington Eve*, *Boston Commercial-Bulletin*, *Boston Evening Star*, *Boston Traveler*, *Boston Transcript*, *Bridgeport Standard*, *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Buffalo News*, *Buffalo Our Record*, *Buffalo Times*, *Burlington Hawkeye*, *Cambridge Tribune*, *Carson Appeal*, *Chicago Commercial Advertiser*, *Chicago National Weekly*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Cincinnati Star*, *Danbury News*, *Denver Tribune*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Elmira Free Press*, *Erie Herald*, *Fairfield Times*, *Galveston News*, *Huntsville Item*, *Kansas City Times*, *Kokomo Tribune*, *LaCrosse Democrat*, *Laramie Sentinel*, *Lowell Courier*, *Marathon Independent*, *Marlborough Times*, *Meriden Recorder*, *New Haven Register*, *New Orleans Picayune*, *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, *New York Commercial Advertiser*, *New York Express*, *New York Graphic*, *New York Herald*, *Owego Recorder*, *Peoria Transcript*, *Philadelphia Bulletin*, *Philadelphia Kronicle Herald*, *Pittsburgh Leader*, *Portland Courier*, *Providence Star*, *Quincey Modern Argus*, *Richmond State*, *Rochester Democrat*, *Rochester Express*, *Rome Sentinel*, *St. Louis Spirit*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco News Letter*, *Somerville Journal*, *Southport Times*, *Steubenville Herald*, *Syracuse Times*, *Toledo Blade*, *Towanda Enterprise*, *Troy Press*, *Turners' Falls Reporter*, *Virginia City Enterprise*, *Waterloo Observer*, *Wheeling Leader*, *Whitehall Times*, and *Yonkers Statesman*.

<sup>17</sup> Issue of March 13, 1861, I, 6.

<sup>18</sup> *Yankee Doodle*, *The Spirit of the Times*, and *Puck* carried on vehement campaigns against the failure of papers to give credit to exchanges from which they pilfered material.

periodicals all over the country passed along the best humorous sketches, anecdotes, poems, and paragraphs discovered in exchanges. And since laws allowed exchange copies to be sent without postage, and since newspapers were eager to borrow good material, exchange lists were long; each newspaper sprinkled its pages with quotations from papers of every part of the United States. I was able, with little effort, to compile a list of eighty papers which were quoted in at least two publications in 1880.<sup>19</sup>

An author with a faculty for writing skits which caught the attention of editors who, scissors in hand, eagerly scanned exchanges, was soon known throughout the nation. As early as 1833, at least twenty-nine and probably far more newspapers clipped and printed Seba Smith's Jack Downing letters in cities as distant from Portland, Maine, as Cincinnati, Louisville, Philadelphia, and Washington, D. C.<sup>20</sup> As years passed the "contagion of our American exchange system," as Stedman called it, had spread even wider. B. P. Shillaber could proudly say in his preface to *Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington* (New York: J. C. Derby, 1854): "Mrs. Partington . . . needs no introduction. In all parts of our land, and over the sea, her name is familiar as a household word." Eli Perkins boasted that a satirical letter of 1888 was "copied into thousands of newspapers, and . . . read by 10,000,000 people within a week," and that "it brought back bushels of letters *pro* and *con* to the writer, and among them letters from so great a man as James G. Blaine and the two presidential candidates, Cleveland and Harrison."<sup>21</sup>

The newspaper blessed with a witty paragrapher or amusing humorist could win national prominence. In the years before the War of the States, Prentice's paragraphs, habitually copied everywhere, made *The Louisville Journal* known in every section,<sup>22</sup> and when Halpine became a humorist connected with *The New York Leader*, "the circulation of the paper increased enormously, and it

<sup>19</sup> All of the publications mentioned in footnote 16 and in the paragraph to which it refers furnished exchange material to two or more humorous columns.

<sup>20</sup> M. A. Wyman, *Two American Pioneers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), pp. 235-236.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>22</sup> Derby, *Fifty Years among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York, 1886), pp. 419-420.

became a political power."<sup>23</sup> The humorist as well as the newspaper gained national prominence. In 1879, Burdette's sketch, "The Brakeman at Church," was published in a paper in the little town of Burlington, Iowa. "Its popularity was immediate, and after its publication in the newspaper letter, it was republished . . . as a pamphlet, and was distributed by tens of thousands. It was copied by every newspaper of more than the slightest importance in the country . . . and few of the reading public of that generation but had an intimate knowledge of the 'Brakeman at Church.'"<sup>24</sup> After a few such hits, according to the city editor of the paper, *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* "came to be read not only within the limits of Burlington and Iowa as in the past, but had its circle of readers in practically every state in the Union."<sup>25</sup> While Burdette, soon known as "The Hawk-Eye Man," thus became famous, Bailey, "The Danbury News Man," built up a circulation of forty thousand for the paper employing him, though it was published in a little town in Connecticut.<sup>26</sup> Other newspapers prospered. In the words of H. C. Lukens:

The *Danbury News* and *Detroit Free Press* became household gods that usurped the thrones of Farmers' Almanacs, and toppled them from their ivy-thatched 'high eminence'. . . . After 1876 much was heard of such special family visitors, like the *Oil City Derrick*, on which Robert Wesley Creswell . . . won his editorial, humorous spurs; of the *Burlington* (Iowa) *Hawkeye*, Robert J. Burdette's auriferous fun mine; of the *Yonkers Gazette*; Cincinnati *Breakfast Table*, long the profitable mirthful quarry of E. P. Brown; of *Peck's Sun*, a Milwaukee luminary of the *Virginia City Enterprise*, identified with "Dan De Quille" (pseudonym of W. W. Wright) and Nevada's ripples of silvered merit. . . .<sup>27</sup>

#### IV

Perhaps there was much logic in the belief of Hudson that one important reason why comic journals had very hard sledding lay

<sup>23</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1929), VI, 27.

<sup>24</sup> C. J. Burdette, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>26</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1929), VI, 28. For additional testimony, see J. L. Ford's article in *Munsey's Magazine*, XXV, 488 (July, 1901), and Slason Thompson's *Life of Eugene Field* (New York and London: D. Appleton & Company, 1927), pp. 60-61.

<sup>27</sup> "American Literary Comedians," *Harper's Magazine*, LXXX, 791-792 (April, 1890). Only a portion of the list given by Lukens is reproduced.

in the fact that Americans were supplied with humor by newspapers. Yet in addition to newspapers, periodicals which published humorous materials, in spite of hardships and failures, joined other forces in lifting humor to popularity. Treating the magazines of years between 1825 and 1850, Mr. Frank Luther Mott notes: "Humor is far more prominent in American periodical literature than it had ever been before; all except the most serious now have their 'Fun Jottings' or 'Joke Corner,' or something analogous."<sup>28</sup> Lewis Gaylord Clark, the editor of *The Knickerbocker*, printed the work of Fred S. Cozzens, Charles Godfrey Leland, "Phoenix," and many another humorous writer in a comic department which, by 1853, occupied a third of the magazine.<sup>29</sup> *The Southern Literary Messenger* printed the work of Baldwin and Bagby. *Harper's Magazine*, after 1851, in its Editor's Drawer, and *Scribner's Monthly*, after its start in 1870, used typical contemporary humor. Shaw, creator of Josh Billings, wrote humor of the type that had made him famous over the signature of Uncle Esek in *The Century*.

The most important periodicals, however, from the standpoint of humorists who profited by popularity, were the comic journals. To be sure many of these died at a tender age, after driving editors to despair, and there was some naturalness in the ending of Newell's burlesque novel, *The Cloven Foot* (1870), which showed a comic journal editor attempting to hang himself. Nevertheless, whether they survived long or not, comic periodicals were so numerous that Newell, in the novel mentioned, could tell with some accuracy of an undertaker displaying a graveyard full of "projectors of American *Punches*." A list of such publications,<sup>30</sup> though still far from complete, shows that at least 116 such periodicals appeared between 1800 and 1900.

<sup>28</sup> *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1930), p. 424.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 609-610.

<sup>30</sup> Mr. Franklin J. Meine and the writer are attempting to compile a complete list. The most helpful sources have been J. Brander Mathews' "The Comic Periodical Literature of the United States," *The American Biblioplist*, VII, 199-201 (August, 1875); L. W. Kingman's "The Comic Periodicals of America," *The American Biblioplist*, VII, 262-265 (December, 1875); Frank Luther Mott, *op. cit.*; and Ernest L. Hancock's "The Passing of the American Comic," *The Bookman*, XXII, 78-84 (September, 1905). The lists given in these works, however, are quite incomplete, and the *Union List* offers little help. It has been necessary to look for a large share of material in articles and books about the humorists and in comic journals which mentioned exchanges or gloated over rival publications which passed away.

Most of them lived only a short time—*The Wasp*, published in New York, two years (1802-1803); *The Red Book*, Baltimore, two years (1819-1821); *The Galaxy of Comicalities*, Philadelphia, from October 2, 1833 to July 5, 1834; *The Picayune*, New York, eleven years (1847-1858); *The City Budget*, New York, a year or less (1853-1854); *The Knapsack*, Philadelphia, October 24 to November 4, 1865; *Texas Siftings*, Austin, Texas, probably no more than fifteen years (1882-1897?) in spite of its popularity; *The Fat Contributor's Saturday Night*, Cincinnati, about eleven years (1872-1882)—these were fairly typical. "It's a funny thing, certainly," said *Yankee Doodle*, "that a Humorous Newspaper has concluded its second volume in the United States."<sup>31</sup>

But despite the high mortality rate, which, after all, was hardly higher than that of other American periodicals, humorous publications appeared during every part of the century, and there is some evidence that a number achieved rather remarkable popularity. *Yankee Doodle*, for example, published two *Pictorial Yankee Doodles* in 1847 for free distribution to subscribers, and of each of these 100,000 were printed.<sup>32</sup> *John Donkey*, Philadelphia (Jan. 1, 1848-July 15, 1848), though it lived less than a year, had at one time a circulation of 12,000.<sup>33</sup> This compares fairly well with the most popular magazines of the day, *Graham's* (40,000), and *Godey's* (150,000); it surpasses *The Southern Literary Messenger*, whose subscribers numbered 5,500 in its prosperous days under Poe, *The Knickerbocker* (5,000), and dozens of others.<sup>34</sup> *The Picayune* had at one time a circulation of 35,000,<sup>35</sup> although the number fell to 6,500 in 1853.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, *The Reveille* (1853-1854?) was issuing 2,800 copies of each number,<sup>37</sup> and *The Pick* (1853-1854?) was boasting that it sold 24,000 copies of its first number, 27,000 of its second, and 30,000 of its third.<sup>38</sup> Less than a year after its start, the editor of *The Pick* was proclaiming: "We started with \$5 and we have made a property that we would not sell tomorrow for

<sup>31</sup> Preface to Vol. II (1847).

<sup>32</sup> Advertisements in *Yankee Doodle* in most of the issues of 1847.

<sup>33</sup> Albert H. Smyth, *Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 235.

<sup>34</sup> F. L. Mott, *op. cit.*

<sup>35</sup> *The Pick*, II, 1, March 12, 1853.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1853.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1852.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1853.

\$50,000."<sup>39</sup> And it is probable that, in the period before the war, *The Carpet-Bag*, Boston (1851-1853), and *Vanity Fair*, New York (December 31, 1859-July 4, 1863), on which definite figures are not available, surpassed most of these.

Though fewer figures are recorded, those which can be discovered indicate that in the years after the war, comic publications reached even greater numbers. *Peck's Sun*, in 1882, had a circulation of 20,000 and was "rapidly increasing."<sup>40</sup> Opie Read's *Arkansas Traveler* (1883) reached a circulation of 60,000.<sup>41</sup> In 1887, *Texas Siftings* had a circulation which had "long exceeded 100,000 copies each issue," and a popularity which was international.<sup>42</sup> *Puck* (March, 1877-September, 1918), *Judge* (1881- ) and *Life* (1883- ) were probably even more popular. In the words of J. L. Ford, "It is impossible to estimate the importance of these comic journals in the development and encouragement of American humor. They were read and widely quoted, and they popularized humor to such an extent that many other periodicals found it advisable to maintain departments consisting entirely of original humorous matter."<sup>43</sup>

## V

The writings of humorists were published in books as well as magazines, and again there is evidence of mounting popularity which prepared the way for Mark Twain and his contemporaries. *Georgia Scenes* (1835) had by 1894 passed through twelve editions, and a writer in 1874 held it had had a larger circulation than any other Southern book.<sup>44</sup> According to the publisher, when Shillaber's *Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington* appeared in 1854, at least 50,000 copies, including a first edition of 20,000, were sold.<sup>45</sup> Miriam Berry Whitcher's *Widow Bedott Papers*, after increasing the circulation of the magazine in which they first appeared, in 1855 sold "something over 100,000 copies."<sup>46</sup> By 1855, *Major Jones's Court-*

<sup>39</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> Will M. Clemens, *Famous Funny Fellows* (New York, 1883), p. 134.

<sup>41</sup> W. C. Vischer, "Opie Read," in *Library of Southern Literature* (New Orleans: Martin and Hoyt Co., 1909), X, 4358.

<sup>42</sup> *The Journalist, a Pictorial Souvenir* (New York: Allan Forman, 1887), p. 101.

<sup>43</sup> "Century of American Humor," *Munsey's Magazine*, XXV, 490 (July, 1901).

<sup>44</sup> Maximilian La Borde, *History of South Carolina College* (Charleston, 1874), p. 462.

<sup>45</sup> Derby, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-411.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 413-416.

*ship*, first issued in 1844, had run through thirteen editions in the United States.<sup>47</sup> And before Ward had achieved the pinnacle of his popularity, when his first book came off the presses in 1862, "40,000 copies were sold outright, an enormous edition for the time."<sup>48</sup> Huntley's *Spoopendyke*, now completely forgotten, appeared in 1881, and "over 300,000 copies of the work were manufactured and disposed of within three months after its first appearance." Later several revised and enlarged editions were printed.<sup>49</sup> Then, in 1888, Belford, Clarke & Company, in an edition of Nye's *Baled Hay*, proudly told of the following remarkable sales of the books by Peck:

How Private George W. Peck Put Down the

Rebellion.....	40th thousand
Peck's Bad Boy and His Pa.....	750th thousand
Peck's Bad Boy and His Pa, No. 2.....	200th thousand
Peck's Sunshine.....	125th thousand
Peck's Fun.....	125th thousand
Peck's Boss Book.....	50th thousand

Doubtless some allowance should be made for a publisher's enthusiasm here, but since, by now, train butchers were purveying paper editions while bookstores all over the country offered other editions, and since Peck was undoubtedly tremendously popular, the optimistic figures should not be discounted a great deal. Burdette, Bailey, and Nye were probably about as popular.

By the time this announcement was made, humorists were compiling and selling annually almanacs which, like their books, had remarkable sales. Of course, almanacs were not new things; Franklin and others had published them in colonial times; *The Crockett Almanacs* (1835-1853?) had had a large sale several years after the death of Davy Crockett, and before 1842, Robert H. Elton "had gained some little notoriety for his comic almanacks . . . made up of reproductions of Cruikshank's and Seymour's designs, interspersed with humorous sketches."<sup>50</sup> In the seventies, eighties, and

<sup>47</sup> *Eclectic Magazine*, XXXV, 269 (June, 1855).

<sup>48</sup> Don C. Seitz, *Artemus Ward* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919), p. 119. See also Derby, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

<sup>49</sup> Will M. Clemens, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>50</sup> L. W. Kingman, *op. cit.*, p. 262.



nineties, the tradition of the comic almanac was revived. In 1870, when Josh Billings published his first *Farmer's Almanac*, it sold 90,000 copies; the following year 127,000 copies appeared, and in 1872, some 100,000 were sold. The publication ran through ten years, during each of which more than 50,000 copies were sold.<sup>51</sup> Carl Pretzel of Chicago published an almanac which had "a large and ready sale" during the late seventies and early eighties,<sup>52</sup> and *The Danbury News Man's Almanac* (1873) was "as successful as his volumes of sketches."<sup>53</sup>

In addition to the works of the humorists which they themselves published, there were humorous anthologies. As early as 1845, Porter's famous *Big Bear of Arkansas* collection appeared, to be followed by another collection by the same author. Sam Slick's two anthologies, each in three volumes, were issued in both England and America. In the sixties, three volumes of *Yankee Drolleries* were compiled by George Augustus Sala. Towards the end of the century, when Eli Perkins and Mark Twain joined the ranks of anthologists, the number increased. *American Humorists*, edited by the Rev. H. R. Haweis in 1883, had a large sale, though one of many such books. At least 32 collections or new editions of collections appeared during the years 1884-1890,<sup>54</sup> and at least 28 appeared between 1890 and 1894.<sup>55</sup> All of these publications stimulated interest and indicated the popularity of the humor of American writers.

## VI

The literary comedians did not, however, have to depend entirely upon printed works as a medium for spreading their fame. Like motion picture actors and actresses of today, who make "appearances in person" before enthusiastic audiences, humorists went into every part of the land and appeared on lecture platforms.

Started in 1825 as a part of the lyceum system, the popular lec-

<sup>51</sup> Francis S. Smith, *Life and Adventures of Josh Billings* (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1883), pp. 41-44. For additional testimony, see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1929), VI, 29, and Derby, *op. cit.*, p. 243. Though the figures are not precisely the same, there is essential agreement to the effect that early issues sold more than 100,000.

<sup>52</sup> Will M. Clemens, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>53</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 28.

<sup>54</sup> *The American Catalogue 1884-1890* (New York: Publishers' Weekly, 1891).

<sup>55</sup> *The American Catalogue 1890-1894* (New York: Publishers' Weekly, 1895).

ture, which before the war had "spread throughout the country from Boston to Detroit and Maine to Florida" and which after the war was exploited by such enterprising leaders as Williams, Pond, and Redpath, proved a boon to many humorists.<sup>56</sup> In 1870, an Englishman said:<sup>57</sup>

America is a lecture-hall on a very extensive scale. The rostrum extends in a straight line from Boston, through New York and Philadelphia, to Washington. There are raised seats on the first tier in the Alleghanies, and gallery accommodations on the top of the Rocky Mountains. . . . The voice of the lecturer is never silent in the United States.

The Englishman, E. P. Hingston, was well acquainted with the American situation, for he had managed many of the appearances on the platform of the first important humorist of America to acquire money and fame by giving comic lectures, Artemus Ward. Ward started his career in the field in 1861, taking a hint from Barnum, who had overcome scruples of country folk visiting the theater in his museum by calling it "The Moral Lecture-Room," and advertising his speech as a "Moral Lecture."<sup>58</sup> Starting modestly by appearing in a few New England towns, the lecturer traveled over widening territory.<sup>59</sup> In 1861 he visited New York, Paterson, Corning, Elmira, and other towns and cities. Thereafter "dates followed in thick order," dates arranged with "bureaus and local committees" for appearances at fixed pay. In 1862 he appeared not only on Eastern platforms but also in halls in Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Memphis. The following year, on the bustling frontier of the Far West, he entertained the miners and settlers of California, Texas, Utah, and Nevada. In 1864, he appeared during a period of two months in nightly lectures in New York, had a period of two crowded weeks in Boston, and visited other cities in the United States and in Canada. After another successful season in 1865, he

<sup>56</sup> For details on the early history of the lyceum, consult G. W. Cooke's *Introduction to The Dial* (Cleveland, 1902), I, 42-43, and *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1881), pp. 256-257. For the later growth of the lyceum system, see John S. Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 99-105.

<sup>57</sup> E. P. Hingston, *The Genial Showman* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1870), p. 42.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>59</sup> Don Seitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-222. This is the source for all of the material on Ward the lecturer given here.

went, in 1866, to England, where he had a notable success which not only augmented his fortunes but also caused Americans to look more proudly upon native humorists. And through the years, there was a rather steady increase both in receipts and in the number attending his lectures.

Other lecturers followed Ward into a field which offered returns of from fifty dollars to three hundred dollars for each appearance. Josh Billings began to appear on the platform in 1863, and thereafter, for at least twenty successive seasons, he

. . . read the lecture in every town on this continent that has 20,000 people, and in hundreds that have not got 1,000 in them; read it in every town in Texas and California, and in all the Canadian towns, and then down South, from Baltimore to Palatka, Florida, and still across to Memphis, and then into New Orleans, reading each season from fifty to over a hundred nights.<sup>60</sup>

In 1866, Locke (Nasby) began a career as a lecturer which lasted at least five years.<sup>61</sup> Meanwhile A. Minor Griswold had started, in 1865, activity as a lecturer which continued through eighteen years,<sup>62</sup> and which carried him as far as the Puget Sound.<sup>63</sup> Other humorists who had successful lecturing careers included Richard Malcolm Johnston,<sup>64</sup> George W. Peck, J. M. Bailey, Eli Perkins, Bill Arp, Benjamin P. Shillaber (Mrs. Partington),<sup>65</sup> William L. Visscher,<sup>66</sup> Major Burbank,<sup>67</sup> Dr. George W. Bagby,<sup>68</sup> Phillips Thompson,<sup>69</sup> Rufus Griswold,<sup>70</sup> Eugene Field,<sup>71</sup> and others.

Among the others were Mark Twain, whose very popular early

<sup>60</sup> F. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-55. See also C. B. Burdette, *op. cit.*, p. 134, and *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 29.

<sup>61</sup> Interview in *The Newark Courier*, November 19, 1871.

<sup>62</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 29.

<sup>63</sup> W. L. Visscher, *Ten Wise Men and Some More* (Chicago, 1908), p. 54.

<sup>64</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 32.

<sup>65</sup> *Kings of the Platform and Pulpit*, ed. Eli Perkins (Chicago: Bedford-Clarke Co., 1890), pp. 275, 239, 194, 437, 425.

<sup>66</sup> *Ten Wise Men and Some More*, p. 100.

<sup>67</sup> James Barr, *The Humour of America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), p. 441.

<sup>68</sup> J. L. King, *Dr. George William Bagby* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), pp. 172-175.

<sup>69</sup> *American Punch*, I, 80, July, 1879.

<sup>70</sup> Will M. Clemens, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>71</sup> C. H. Dennis, *Eugene Field's Creative Years* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1924), p. 241.

works were preceded and followed by almost equally popular lectures, and Robert J. Burdette. Burdette was exceedingly successful from the beginning of his career in 1876 until the end of the century. In addition to presenting "The Rise and Fall of the Moustache," his greatest success, nearly five thousand times, he gave the following comic lectures frequently: "Home," "The Pilgrimage of the Funny Man," "Advice to a Young Man," "Wild Gourds," "Woman With the Broom," "Dimity Government," "Sawing Wood," "Twice Told Tales," "Handles," and "Rainbow Chasers"; and he appeared in every corner of the nation.<sup>72</sup>

Thus the humor of the stage and the humor of politics brought popularity to the American jesters of the nineteenth century, and numerous publications—newspapers, magazines, comic journals, books, almanacs—and lectures as well helped carry the native humor to a growing number of people.

## VII

How, near the end of the century, various forces helped a humorist to fame is illustrated in the story of the growth of the popularity of Bill Nye (1850-1896). In 1882, a fortunate coupling of humor with politics helped Nye gain attention when, upon being appointed postmaster of Laramie, he wrote a letter to the postmaster general "extending his thanks" and proclaiming: "I look upon the appointment as a great triumph of eternal truth over error and wrong . . . one of the epochs . . . in the Nation's onward march toward political purity and perfection." The amusing letter was widely copied; it was commented upon in distant England by *The London Daily News*. A similar letter in which Nye humorously told the President of his resignation in 1883 was also copied,<sup>73</sup> almost as widely as Nye humorously asserted—"from Japan to South Africa, and from Beersheba to a given point."<sup>74</sup> Later open letters of advice to Cleveland when he entered the White House and political touches in many comic anecdotes and essays continued his appeal to an audience interested in politics.

Newspapers, periodicals, and comic journals augmented Nye's

<sup>72</sup> For details, see C. B. Burdette, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-132.

<sup>73</sup> F. W. Nye, *Bill Nye: His Own Life Story* (New York: Century, 1926), pp. 98-108. The letters were reprinted in *Remarks*.

<sup>74</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 25.

fame. As early as 1876, a squib in *The Laramie Sentinel* was quoted in *The St. Paul Pioneer Press*, and soon after, when he became a contributor to *The Denver Tribune*, he was quoted by "papers in Omaha and Salt Lake, *The Detroit Press*, *Texas Siftings*, *Peck's Sun*, and many others." Then, in 1881, *The Boomerang* was started, a daily paper with a local circulation of 250, and, in addition, *The Weekly Boomerang*, wherein a whole page of Nye's humor was included. The weekly, like *The Hawk-Eye* and *The Danbury News*, served as a humorous periodical, and although the daily steadily lost money, the weekly, selling in "all parts of the Union," made a good profit; when Nye left the paper, it "soon found its level as a small-town daily."<sup>75</sup>

Before he left Laramie, however, the small town's humorist had been discovered by exchanges. By 1882, said Will M. Clemens, he was widely quoted . . . perhaps more extensively copied than any other humorist of the day."<sup>76</sup> In 1890, Landon said: "Every newspaper in the English language is now filled with his writings,"<sup>77</sup> slightly exaggerating, one fears, but little more enthusiastic than Mark Twain, who said in 1888, "His contributions to the press have given him a reputation commensurate with the country."<sup>78</sup>

But by 1890, Nye had become associated with papers which had wider fame than his Laramie publication. In 1885, he had made arrangements for weekly letters with *The Boston Globe*, and in 1887, he had become associated with *The New York World*, then eagerly hiring contributors who would boom the paper's large circulation. Prior to 1887, some of the writer's works were sold to a list of newspapers, though they were not syndicated until after 1891, when the American Press Association sent out his writings to "one of the leading newspapers in practically all of the leading cities."<sup>79</sup> By 1893, English papers had begun to purchase the letters, and *The London Sketch* of October 1, 1893, said:

. . . Mr. Nye has become a power in the land; the President himself is not more caricatured. His sayings are quoted everywhere. There is hardly a town with a Sunday paper that does not print his latest column.

<sup>75</sup> F. W. Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-95.

<sup>76</sup> W. M. Clemens, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>77</sup> *Kings of the Platform and Pulpit*, p. 306.

<sup>78</sup> *Mark Twain's Library of Humor* (New York: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1888), p. 383.

<sup>79</sup> F. W. Nye, letter to the writer, February 19, 1930.

At the time of Nye's death in 1896, "about 70 leading newspapers" were using the weekly syndicated article, and later the head of the Press Association, Orlando Smith, asserted that "the success of the Association had been largely built upon the Nye articles and . . . Bill Nye was the most widely read and highly paid writer in the United States."<sup>80</sup>

Magazines as well as newspapers used Nye's writings—*The Century*, *The Cosmopolitan*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *Once a Week*, *Good Roads*, *The Ingleside*, *The Northwestern Miller*, and the comic periodical, *Puck*. In 1891, he published an *Almanac*.

Furthermore, Nye's lectures in the years between 1883 and 1895 acquainted thousands of people with his comic personality.<sup>81</sup> Adopting the gloomy method of delivery affected by Ward and most humorous lecturers, on the platform always he assumed a "solemnity of look and sepulchral voice when he was saying something he knew would be humorous. At such times he had a queer sort of cross-eyed glint leftward."<sup>82</sup> He began his career by appearing alone. Later, however, during his most successful seasons (1888-1890), he appeared with Riley, who had had some experience in the work before this.<sup>83</sup> With little Riley serving as a foil for the tall nonsensical Nye, the two entertained thousands in scores of cities and hamlets and reaped large returns for the Pond Lyceum Bureau. Capacity crowds greeted them everywhere, and in Wyoming the legislature adjourned to welcome Nye. Then, after, a break-up with Riley, Nye, under the management of H. B. Thearle or the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, and accompanied at different times by W. L. Visscher, Alfred P. Burbank, William Hawley Smith, and Bert Poole, continued lecture work, at least one trip carrying him to California.

In 1891, Nye invaded successfully still another field which had been prepared for humorous works—the field of the drama. His

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Bill Nye: His Own Life Story*, pp. 128-397, to which I am chiefly indebted, gives a detailed account of Nye as a lecturer.

<sup>82</sup> Visscher, *Ten Wise Men*. . . , p. 96.

<sup>83</sup> Marcus Dickey, *The Maturity of James Whitcomb Riley* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1922), pp. 182-184. For details concerning the lecture trips of the pair, see pp. 234-256. Landon has preserved a record of an entire Nye-Riley appearance in *Kings of the Platform and Pulpit*, pp. 315-325.

play, *The Cadi*, full of his typical humor, had a run of 125 nights in the Union Square Theater.

The story of Nye's activities as a journalist, as a lecturer, and as a playwright indicates that, like many an earlier and many a contemporary humorist, he built up a remarkably large following. Details concerning the publication of Nye's books seem to offer additional evidence. In 1882, Will Clemens noted that Nye's first book "had a tremendous sale,"<sup>84</sup> and apparently other volumes were equally successful. *Boomerang*, *Forty Liars*, and *Baled Hay*, Nye's first three books, according to a conservative estimate of Nye's son, probably sold at least 100,000 copies apiece,<sup>85</sup> and five other works, judging on the basis of the number of editions and Nye's position, must have been equally successful. *Nye's History of the United States* went through eight editions during the first year, and after the plates were sold as late as 1905 to Thompson and Thomas, the company, according to one of the partners, sold 250,000 copies in thirteen years.<sup>86</sup> Nye's son estimates that at least 500,000 copies of the history were sold, and *Remarks* was a close second.<sup>87</sup>

All of these books, with the exception of the history, were sold not only in book stores but also, in paper-covered editions, at newsstands and on trains. The following table, perhaps incomplete, shows the number of editions (including paper-covered)—probably large editions—through which important works passed during Nye's lifetime:

<i>Book</i>	<i>Number of Editions</i>
Bill Nye and Boomerang (1881).....	10
Forty Liars and Other Lies (1882).....	10
Baled Hay (1884).....	10
Blossom Rock (pirated) (1885).....	1
Remarks (1887).....	7
Chestnuts (1887).....	8
Cordwood (pirated) (1887).....	1
Thinks (also called Sparks) (1888).....	6
Railway Guide (1888).....	6
History of the United States (1894).....	10

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>85</sup> Letter to the writer, February 19, 1930. <sup>86</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>87</sup> *Loc. cit.* My estimate on the history would be 200,000 higher. It went through eight large editions in 1894 alone.

These figures offer interesting evidence that the last of the old school of American humorists, after becoming active in a time when other comedians had cultivated a large public for humorous works, achieved extraordinary popularity. And Nye's career was more typically that of a humorist of the century than, at first glance, one would be inclined to suspect.

Thus when Nye, his predecessors, and his contemporaries practiced and preached simplicity and homeliness of language in a day of grandiloquence, realism in thought and in fiction in a day of pseudo-romantic writing, the practical men (including a genius, Mark Twain) who somehow stumbled into writing were assured of a large and attentive audience. And the history of American literature testifies that at the end of the century salutary results had already begun to appear.



# THE ANATOMY OF MELVILLE'S FAME

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THE extraordinary enthusiasm for Herman Melville in recent years among persons who had not previously heard of him has led to two erroneous conclusions: first, that Melville's contemporaries were blind to the significance of his work, and, second, that until the beginning of the revival of the last decade Melville was completely forgotten.

## I

There is sufficient evidence to show that Melville's contemporaries were fairly well aware of his intentions. The sea romances, *Typee* and *Omoo*, are praised today for the same virtues that were observed in the 1840's, and the attacks upon Melville's later and more philosophical works arose not so much from a lack of comprehension in the critics as from a dislike for the philosophy which they understood only too well. For instance, *The Democratic Review* (July, 1849) pointed out that "Mardi is an allegory that mirrors the world," but the critic was "saddened" because Melville "seems to think that the race is in a vicious circle, from which we cannot escape."<sup>1</sup> A similar point of view was expressed by *The Literary World* (August 21, 1852) in a review of *Pierre*: "The most unmoral *moral* of the story . . . seems to be the impracticability of virtue. . . . But ordinary novel readers will never unkennel this loathsome suggestion."<sup>2</sup>

Melville was attacked by his contemporaries, it is true, for the failure of his later work as literature, but modern critics at the height of the Melville boom have passed virtually the same unfavorable judgments. Compare, for example, the critique published in *The Athenæum* in 1852, which called *Pierre* "a prairie in print, wanting the flowers and freshness of the savannahs, but almost equally puzzling to find a way through it,"<sup>3</sup> with Lewis Mumford's comment, "It is the failure of *Pierre* as literature that draws our attention to

<sup>1</sup> *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XXV, 44 (July, 1849).

<sup>2</sup> *The Literary World*, XI, 118 (August 21, 1852).

<sup>3</sup> *The Athenæum*, XXV, 1266 (November 20, 1852).

Melville's predicament as a man,"<sup>4</sup> or with H. M. Tomlinson's description of *Pierre* as "a tragic and noteworthy failure."<sup>5</sup> The tone of the modern critics is more sympathetic, but the judgment of *Pierre* as literary art remains much the same.

An apparent exception to the general comprehension of Melville's meaning was the inability or the unwillingness of British critics to see in *Moby Dick* anything more than a poorly constructed whaling story. As early as December, 1851, *Harper's Magazine*, an American journal, said that "beneath the whole story the reader may find a pregnant allegory,"<sup>6</sup> but the British, with an amazing stupidity, never recognized the possibility of a philosophical interpretation. They tested *Moby Dick* by the canons of unity, coherence and emphasis, and found it wanting. *The London Examiner*, for instance, found that in *Moby Dick* "all the regular rules of narrative or story are spurned and set at defiance."<sup>7</sup> *The London Spectator* remarked that "such a groundwork is hardly natural enough for a regular-built novel, though it might form a tale, if properly managed." *The Spectator* censured Melville for "beginning in the autobiographical form and changing *ad libitum* into the narrative."<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, there was always a sharp difference of opinion between British and American criticism of Melville during his creative period, a fact which has not hitherto been stressed by Melville's biographers. Ill feeling, national pride, and a patronizing attitude toward America help to explain the severe condemnation by the English of Melville's "Yankeeisms" and "Go-ahead method." They also help to explain the unexpected English praise of *The Confidence Man*, a book which nearly every one else has whole-heartedly damned. For instance, *The Westminster Review* (July, 1857) said: "Perhaps the moral is, the gullibility of the great Republic when taken on its own tack."<sup>9</sup> Had Americans felt more cultural pride and less inclination to grovel before British oracles, Melville might have become then, as he is now, a great hero of American national consciousness.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> H. M. Tomlinson, Introduction to *Pierre* (New York, Dutton, 1929), p. xv.

<sup>6</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, IV, 137 (December, 1851).

<sup>7</sup> *The Examiner*, November 8, 1851, p. 709.

<sup>8</sup> Reprinted in *The International Magazine*, IV, 602 (December, 1851).

<sup>9</sup> *The Westminster Review*, XII, 311 (July, 1857).

Melville's genius was, indeed, recognized by the critics who undertook to evaluate his work as a whole: Philarète Chasles (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, 1849),<sup>10</sup> Fitz-James O'Brien (*Putnam's Monthly*, February, 1853),<sup>11</sup> "Sir Nathaniel" (*The New Monthly Magazine*, July, 1853),<sup>12</sup> and others clearly apprehended Melville's power, although they might quarrel with him over stylistic excesses or his offenses against the proprieties and evangelical morality, such as references to smoking the vile weed, drinking spirituous liquors, and cohabiting with Polynesian maidens.

## II

The second myth, that after the close of the first productive period Melville was almost completely forgotten, is simply false. It is true that little evidence of the continuation of an enthusiasm for Melville can be found in the literary histories and text-books. Beginning with the Duyckincks' *Cyclopædia of American Literature* and Gostwick's *Hand-book of American Literature*, Melville found a place in a considerable number of academic works; but these notices, in general, reveal a dismal ignorance both of the man and of his work. Academic criticism abounded in plagiarism and paraphrase of previous criticism, and it was apparent that few of the literary historians bothered to read Melville with any degree of critical insight, if at all. More important as indicative of an abiding interest in Melville were the references to him by men of letters and literary amateurs on both sides of the Atlantic. The extent of the interest in Melville among the reading public can never be determined accurately, because the opinions of ordinary readers do not often find their way into print; but a sufficient number of professional writers left comments on Melville to prove the existence of a following, however small it might be. Among the more important men who were admirers of Melville at one time or another during the "dark" periods before 1919 may be mentioned Robert Louis Stevenson, Charles Warren Stoddard, Sir Alfred Lyall, John La

<sup>10</sup> Philarète Chasles, "Voyages Réels et Fantastiques d'Hermann Melville," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, II (new period), 541-570 (May 15, 1849).

<sup>11</sup> Fitz-James O'Brien, "Our Young Authors—Melville," *Putnam's*, I, 156-164 (February, 1853).

<sup>12</sup> "Sir Nathaniel," "Herman Melville," *The New Monthly Magazine*, XCVIII, 300-308 (July, 1853).

Farge, Robert Buchanan, Henry S. Salt, Arthur Stedman, Titus Munson Coan, W. Clark Russell, J. M. Barrie, Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., Archibald MacMechan, William Morris, and Theodore Watts.

### III

Contrary to the popular impression, the recent revival of interest in Melville is not the first, nor even the second or third, attempt to rehabilitate the author's reputation. It is possible to demark at least four or five movements which sought to reawaken a general interest in Melville. The first occurred in England in the middle 1880's, with Robert Buchanan and Henry S. Salt as the chief advocates.<sup>13</sup> Another occurred in England and America after Melville's death (1891), when new editions of four of the books were published.<sup>14</sup> Professor William P. Trent mentioned a "revival of interest" in Melville—and deprecated it—in 1903.<sup>15</sup> Another revival, which resulted in the acknowledgment of *Moby Dick* as Melville's masterpiece and one of the greatest sea books in all literature, began in 1914 with Professor Archibald MacMechan's essay on the White Whale.<sup>16</sup> The last revival began with the Melville Centenary in 1919 and still continues.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Robert Buchanan, "Socrates in Camden," *The Academy*, XXVIII, 102-103 (August 15, 1885).

*The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, South Seas Edition, edited by Sir Sidney Colvin (New York, 1925), III, 71.

Henry S. Salt, "Herman Melville," *The Universal Review*, IV, 78 (May, 1889).

Henry S. Salt, "Imperial Cockneydom," *The Scottish Art Review*, II, 186-190 (November, 1889).

Letter from W. Clark Russell to Herman Melville dated July 21, 1886, published in *The New York World*, October 11, 1891, p. 26. In this letter Russell wrote, "Your reputation here [England] is very great."

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Richard Henry Stoddard, "Herman Melville," *The Mail and Express*, XX, 5 (October 8, 1891).

Arthur Stedman, "Marquesan Melville," *The New York World*, XXXII, 26 (October 11, 1891).

W. Clark Russell, "A Claim for American Literature," *The North American Review*, CLIV, 138-149 (February, 1892).

Henry S. Salt, "Marquesan Melville," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, CCLXXII, 248-257 (March, 1892).

This is only a partial bibliography of notices of Melville published during the years 1891 and 1892.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. William P. Trent, *A History of American Literature, 1607-1865* (1903), New York, 1929, p. 390.

A commentary on the interest in Melville at this time may be found in an article on Herman Melville by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., published in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, V, 945-946 (April 27, 1929).

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Archibald MacMechan, "The Best Sea Story Ever Written." In *The Life of a Little College* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1914), pp. 179-198.

The divergent character of the various revivals is important. In the first two or three Melville was talked of only as a writer of "travel books," the author of the charmingly exotic *Typee* and *Omoo*. H. S. Salt's comment in *The Scottish Art Review* (November, 1899) was typical: "*Typee* takes precedence of all his other writings, in merit no less than in date."<sup>17</sup> When *Moby Dick* emerged in 1914, it was as a glorified sea and whaling story. MacMechan, who set the tone of this revival, was not interested in the philosophy and allegory of *Moby Dick* so much as in its "expansiveness" and "freedom from rules and conventions." The Whitman vogue was in full swing. To MacMechan, Melville was the "Walt Whitman of prose."<sup>18</sup>

The most recent Melville boom began with a repetition of orthodox judgments,<sup>19</sup> and a new note did not enter criticism until the publication of Frank Jewett Mather's articles on Melville in *The Review* in August, 1919.<sup>20</sup> The Centenary reawakened interest in Melville both in England and in America, but again there were important national differences. The English have always been interested in Melville as a writer of travel literature and of books about the sea. Since 1919 English criticism has concerned itself chiefly with style and story. Its main characteristic has been its enthusiasm for *Moby Dick*, an enthusiasm which partly atones for former blindness.<sup>21</sup> But it is an enthusiasm for *Moby Dick* as the whaling epic. English criticism has been, therefore, stylistic and literary, and it is a significant fact that John Freeman's most original contribution to Melville criticism has been his analysis and literary appraisal of the poems.<sup>22</sup> Carl Van Doren could speak in 1921 of the "greater re-

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the Centenary articles in *The New York Times*, LXVIII, July 27, 1919, Section 3, p. 1; *The New York Evening Sun*, XXXIII, August 1, 1919, p. 16; *The New York Evening Post*, CXVIII, August 2, 1919, p. 6; *The New York Tribune*, LXXIX, August 4, 1919, p. 8. In England, F. C. Owlett, "Herman Melville (1819-1891): A Centenary Tribute," *The London Bookman*, LVI, 164-167 (August, 1919).

<sup>20</sup> Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., "Herman Melville," *The Review*, I, 276-278 (August 9, 1919), and I, 298-301 (August 16, 1919).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Viola Meynell, "Herman Melville," *The Dublin Review*, CLXVI, 96-105 (January, February, March, 1920).

E. L. Grant Watson, "Moby Dick," *The London Mercury*, III, 180-186 (December, 1920). Augustine Birrell, "The Great White Whale," *The Athenæum*, January 28, 1921, pp. 99-

100.

F. L. Lucas, "Herman Melville," *The New Statesman*, XVIII, 730-731 (April 1, 1922).

<sup>22</sup> John Freeman, *Herman Melville* (New York, Macmillan, 1926).

vival interest" in England,<sup>22</sup> but he was not speaking of the great Melville boom which is still going on in this country. The "new" Melville criticism, the reinterpretation of the character of Melville and of his work in the light of modern psychology and philosophy, is essentially an American phenomenon.

#### IV

The recent revival of interest in Melville has been attributed by some to "the spirit of the age." This is undoubtedly true, but "spirit of the age" is a term difficult to define, and one that leaves the inquirer groping for more ponderable reasons. Some have emphasized the appeal of Melville's boldness and expansiveness, which were the same qualities that attracted Professor MacMechan in 1914. A more distinctive characteristic of the third decade of the twentieth century may be its devotion to psychological history, to "case histories" of spiritual struggle and conflict, to the spectacle of man against the world, to all evidences of psychological maladjustment: a devotion induced by the recent enthusiasm for psychology as well as by the post-war psychosis of futility, of futility and defiance.

Mather's importance as a critic of Melville arises from the fact that he was one of the first to see clearly Melville's personal struggle with a perspective on the Victorian age. The point of view was elaborated by Professor Weaver in his biography: "Indeed, Melville's complete works, in their final analysis, are a long effort towards the creation of one of the most complex, and massive, and original characters in literature: the character known in life as Herman Melville."<sup>23</sup> This sentence, indeed, sounds the keynote of the new criticism. For what that "Herman Melville" character is which has been discovered by recent critics, and its meaning to modern life, one must go to the works and the biographies. The important point is that the new interest in Melville is not so much belletristic as biographical, and it is the biographical interest that is responsible for the gradual reclamation of the literary "failures." The unpopular works, even *Pierre* and *The Confidence Man* and

<sup>22</sup> Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel* (New York, Macmillan, 1921), pp. 75-76.

<sup>23</sup> Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, Doran, 1921).

*Clarel*, have been brilliantly gilded and festooned and illuminated with modern effects, and so rescued from the limbo.

The biographical enthusiasm reached its climax in D. H. Lawrence's *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1922), Carl Van Vechten's essay in *The Double Dealer* (January, 1922), and especially, in Lewis Mumford's *Herman Melville* (1929). Van Vechten clearly revealed the attitude of this group of critics:

In spite of all the detractors, I think . . . the day may come when there will be those who will prefer the later Melville just as there are those who prefer the later James, those who will care more for the metaphysical, and at the same time more self-revealing works, than for the less subtle and more straightforward tales.<sup>24</sup>

The excitement over Melville as a man may be held responsible for the sometimes excessive praise of his writing, for the elaboration of awful but often improbable "hidden meanings,"<sup>25</sup> and for the amusing contradictory opinions among enthusiastic critics. To Lewis Mumford, for instance, Melville is always a conscious artist;<sup>26</sup> to Van Wyck Brooks he is an unconscious artist.<sup>27</sup> To M. Josephson, Melville is an "escape" writer;<sup>28</sup> to Mumford he is a realist in the deepest sense.<sup>29</sup> Other examples may be found in the criticism of the last ten years, but these will suffice to show the lack of agreement on the more strictly literary aspects of Melville's work.

## V

In spite of the enthusiasm of the Melville boom, there has been, and there still is, a strong dissenting opinion. *Pierre*, it seems, is as difficult to read as ever. Here again there seems to be a difference

<sup>24</sup> Carl Van Vechten, "The Later Work of Herman Melville," *The Double-Dealer*, III, 12 (January, 1922).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. D. H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York, Seltzer, 1923).

Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, Harcourt, 1929).

W. S. Gleim, "A Theory of Moby Dick," *The New England Quarterly*, II, 402-419 (July, 1929).

<sup>26</sup> Lewis Mumford, "The Significance of Herman Melville," *The New Republic*, LVI, 212-214 (October 10, 1928).

<sup>27</sup> Van Wyck Brooks, *Emerson and Others* (New York, 1927), p. 181.

<sup>28</sup> M. Josephson, "Transfiguration of Herman Melville," *The Outlook*, CL, 809 (September 19, 1928).

<sup>29</sup> Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), pp. 228 and 195.

between English and American criticism, the conservative American critics being suspicious of blurb and exaggeration, and the English being unwilling to evaluate Melville on other grounds than those of intrinsic literary merit. A reviewer in *The Freeman* (October 26, 1921) expressed the cynical American point of view:

Well it was only a question of time: sooner or later the darkness that surrounds this extraordinary man was certain to yield before our indefatigable national appetite for investigation and research. Next year Melville will have been forgotten again. . . . But for the next six months there is to be a Melville boom. Ishmael is to emerge at last: he is to have his little hour. And there will be a few hundred or a few dozen readers, moreover, who, discovering him for the first time in this lime-light, will seize upon his gift as a permanent possession.<sup>30</sup>

Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., commenting on Lewis Mumford's biography, said: "Indeed there is some exaggeration in the general envisagement of Herman Melville as a Prometheus too lonely even to attract the vultures."<sup>31</sup> Professor Weaver limits Melville's claim to fame to three exploits: the literary discovery of the South Seas; the creation, with Dana, of a new world of literature of the sailor; and *Moby Dick*, which reveals a great imagination.<sup>32</sup> But Professor Weaver seems to be doubtful, as he revealed in private conversation, of Melville's claim as a literary artist.

It ought to be remembered that the epic hero, the "Herman Melville" of the modern critics, is an American created by Americans. Differences in national psychology may account for the failure of the English to catch the spark of enthusiasm for this figure. Much of the English criticism has been, therefore, literary and conservative. Michael Sadleir said in 1922: "Apart from *Moby Dick*, the neo-Melvillian has little beyond patronizing approval for the books of his hero." Even *Moby Dick* was over-praised:

In some degree the worship of *Moby Dick* and the comparative neglect of the other work are inevitable corollaries to the Melville boom at its present stage. During the first period of any new æsthetic wonder, the peculiar transcends the normal in the imagination of disciples. . . . In

<sup>30</sup> "A Reviewer's Notebook," *The Freeman*, IV, 166-167 (October 26, 1921).

<sup>31</sup> Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., "Herman Melville," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, V, 945-946 (April 27, 1929).

<sup>32</sup> Raymond M. Weaver, "Herman Melville," *The Bookman*, LIV, 323 (December, 1921).



years to come, when the glamour of oddity has paled a little, it will be admitted that the book labours under a sad weight of intolerable prolixity.<sup>33</sup>

Probably the most sober appraisal of Melville's work has come from an Englishman, H. P. Marshall. *Moby Dick* is in a class by itself. *Redburn*, *Typee*, *Omoo*, and some of the *Piazza Tales* deserve to be read for their style as well as their matter. Badly written but interesting, *Mardi* and *Pierre* are books that publishers would call "human documents." But *Israel Potter* has only moments, *White Jacket* is ordinary, and *The Confidence Man* is "extremely dull and monstrously constructed."<sup>34</sup>

## VI

One may suspect that the Melville *culte* is not so large as the mass of recent notices of Melville would seem to indicate. It may be limited, indeed, to those who find in the "Herman Melville" of the recent biographies a kindred spirit, or a life which embodies their own psychological conflicts. The whole subject of Melville's reputation is extremely interesting because it has unusually sharp contrasts and because it permits us to see the complicated process of literary apotheosis going on all around us at the present moment. Perhaps the "spirit of the age" will soon become sufficiently corporeal to enable us to see why there has been such a strong Melville revival in this generation. Although Herman Melville has a throne in our literary Valhalla, it may perhaps be seen, after the rosy clouds have rolled away from the pedestal, that he is balanced precariously on a chair with a single leg, and that made of whale-bone, like the leg of Captain Ahab.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Sadleir, *Excursions in Victorian Bibliography* (London, Chaundy & Cox, 1922), p. 218.

<sup>34</sup> H. P. Marshall, "Herman Melville," *The London Mercury*, XI, 58-59 (November, 1924).

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### FALSTAFF AND SIMMS'S PORGY

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OF THE many characters created by William Gilmore Simms, Lieutenant (later Captain) Porgy, the fat and philosophic partisan under Marion, was the author's favorite. Porgy appears in all of Simms's Revolutionary romances<sup>1</sup> except *The Scout*; and, without being essential to any of the plots, he and his immediate followers usually hold the center of the stage when the scene is laid in the camp of Marion. He is, besides, the central figure of the narrative in *Woodcraft*, a tale of the times immediately following the Revolution. The character of Porgy is definitely conceived and consistently portrayed throughout the books in which he appears. It is clear that he has many characteristics in common with Shakespeare's fat knight, Falstaff; just as certainly, however, he lacks many of the qualities that belong to that "reverend Vice" and has some that do not. The purpose of this study is to determine whether or not Simms based Porgy on Falstaff, and if he did so, the significance of the changes that he made in the character.

#### I

Professor Trent in his life of Simms has the following to say on the subject:

None of the characters [in *The Partisan*] can be called fascinating unless it be Lieutenant Porgy, whom most critics, including Poe, have regarded as a vulgar copy of Falstaff. To this verdict I do not subscribe. Simms said that Porgy was a transcript from real life, and I have it on good authority that he intended Porgy to be a reproduction of himself in certain moods.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Trent's judgment on this subject deserves careful consideration, but for an author to put himself into a favorite character is sufficiently common to require only little comment. It is true that

<sup>1</sup> Simms's Revolutionary romances are *The Partisan* (1835); *Mellichampe* (1836); *The Kinsmen* (1841), afterwards known as *The Scout*; *Katharine Walton* (1851); *The Forayers* (1855); and *Eutaw* (1856).

<sup>2</sup> W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms*, p. 109.

Porgy in certain moods is very much like Simms in certain moods;<sup>3</sup> or, as Professor Parrington puts it, "Simms delighted in Porgy because he was himself something of a Porgy."<sup>4</sup> The robustious streak in the author's nature would make him portray his character with a great deal of sympathy; but the similarity between Simms and Porgy is scarcely sufficient to offset the possibility of another model for Marion's fat lieutenant.

I have not been able to find a comparison by Poe of Porgy and Falstaff.<sup>5</sup> In his review of *The Partisan*, however, Poe does have the following: "Porgy is a back woods imitation of Sir Somebody Gulo-ton, the epicure, in one of the Pelham novels."<sup>6</sup> This judgment of Poe seems to me to be correct as far as it goes. From Bulwer-Lytton's character Simms might well have got Porgy's philosophy of food and his habit of using the noble art of cooking and eating as material for his conversation and for his figures of speech. Except in this matter of food, however, Porgy's nature is very different from that of Gulo-ton.

Professor Parrington, in his excellent estimate of Simms in *Main Currents in American Thought*, also has something to say on the subject of Porgy and Falstaff.

The Elizabethan influence [on Simms] comes out strikingly in the character of Lieutenant Porgy, the spoilt child of his imagination, who runs through the Revolutionary romances as a sort of comic chorus. Despite Professor Trent's opinion to the contrary, Porgy is a South Carolina Falstaff, quite evidently done with a close eye to the original. He is a very mountain of a fellow, with huge paunch and spindling shanks

<sup>3</sup> One gets some idea of the Porgy in Simms from a story told by Trent, *op. cit.*, p. 237:

"... Simms prided himself on his gastronomic attainments, and in the person of Lieutenant Porgy once allowed himself to grow eloquent over the delicacy of a stew made of alligator terrapins. But there were some heretics in 'the club' who did not believe that Simms had ever eaten an alligator terrapin, and they determined to try him on the dish for which he had given so elaborate a receipt. They procured one of the monsters after some delay and trouble, and, having arranged for the proper making of the stew, invited Simms to supper. The veteran came, and was bountifully helped to his favorite dish. At the very first mouthful he made a wry face, and exclaimed: 'For heaven's sake, boys, where did you get this rancid stuff?' 'That is alligator terrapin, stewed à la Porgy, Mr. Simms,' was the reply. 'Ah,' said the discomfited romancer, 'you must have made some mistake with the receipt'."

<sup>4</sup> V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, II, 132.

<sup>5</sup> I have examined the Virginia and the Stedman-Woodberry editions of Poe's works.

<sup>6</sup> Poe, *Works*, Virginia Edition, VIII, 151.

from too much sitting at the table and in the saddle—the most amusing and substantial comic character in our early fiction.<sup>7</sup>

Parrington continues with a sprightly and accurate analysis of the character of Porgy, giving many characteristics that belong to Falstaff and many that do not. He, too, fails to give any real evidence in regard to the question of Porgy and Falstaff.

## II

In attempting to decide this question, we must first determine exactly what we mean when we say that Porgy is a copy of Falstaff or that he is a South Carolina Falstaff. We find a similar situation explained by Browning, who in his letter to A. B. Grosart in respect to "The Lost Leader" said that he used Wordsworth "as a sort of painter's model; one from which this or the other particular feature may be selected and turned to account." In this study I shall try to show that Simms used Falstaff as a "sort of painter's model" and that he selected those characteristics that were consistent, in his opinion, with a man's being a South Carolina gentleman. I shall seek, further, to show that Simms's preconceived notion of a gentleman was detrimental to his portrayal of Porgy, and that this notion is a prime cause of weakness in Simms's poorest creations, his gentlemen.

Simms was a student and admirer of Shakespeare; he wrote articles for the magazines on the dramatist, edited *A Supplement to the Plays of William Shakespeare*, and even annotated some of his plays.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, quotations from Shakespeare's plays are freely used by Simms as chapter headings;<sup>9</sup> and quotations and echoes from them are found throughout Simms's work.<sup>10</sup> These facts make it not at all surprising that Simms should use Shakespeare's greatest comic character as a model for his own. One more observation exhausts the demonstrable facts in regard to this question. When Porgy first appears, the author says of him, "He rather amused himself with a hobby when he made food his topic, as Falstaff dis-

<sup>7</sup> V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, II, 131.

<sup>8</sup> W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms*, pp. 135, 310.

<sup>9</sup> G. W. Whaley, "A Note on Simms's Novels," *American Literature*, II, 173-174 (May, 1930).

<sup>10</sup> The influence of Shakespeare on Simms's style has not been sufficiently studied. Parrington mentions it in the work cited above.

coursed of his own cowardice without feeling it."<sup>11</sup> Later, Porgy said that on capturing an unresisting rear-guard he felt like the fat knight of Eastcheap when he captured Sir Coleville of the Dale.<sup>12</sup> Thus far we can safely conclude that Simms was familiar with Shakespeare's plays and that, to say the least, he had Falstaff in mind in connection with Porgy.

Leaving solid facts for the less certain ground of conjecture, we notice that Porgy and his companions, like Falstaff and his in the two parts of *Henry the Fourth*, are used to give comic relief amid scenes of war and that they have little connection with the plots of the romances except as friends of the protagonists. Furthermore, we find this parallel sustained by the fact that after the war Porgy, confident in his powers as a lover, courts two middle-aged widows at the same time and is made to feel a bit ridiculous by both, all in a manner that is distinctly reminiscent of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

All these observations make it possible, even probable, that Simms had Falstaff in mind when he created Porgy. That the two characters closely resemble each other in many respects and that their differences can be explained, I shall show later. Here I shall give some further indications that the similarities between the two characters are the result of conscious imitation.

In the first part of *Henry the Fourth* (Act II, Scene iv) occurs the following passage:

*Falstaff.* Give me a cup of sack; I am a rogue, if I drunk to-day.

*Prince.* O villain! thy lips are scarce wiped since thou drunkenest last.

*Falstaff.* All's one for that. [*He drinks.*]

A scene between Porgy and his friend, Lance Frampton, is similar:

"But if it be a draught of care, lieutenant," said Lance archly, taking up the cup, and moving toward the branch, "why do you drink it so often?"

"So often! When I pray you, have I drank of it before, to-day?"

"Only three miles back, at the Green Branch."

"Oh! I drank three miles back, at the Green Branch, did I? Well, it was the cup of Lethe to me, since I certainly forgot all about it."

<sup>11</sup> Simms, *The Partisan*, Chapter X.

<sup>12</sup> Simms, *Enlaw*, Chapter XXVIII.

"There couldn't have been much bitterness in the draught, lieutenant, or the taste would still be in your mouth. But have you forgotten the other cupful at Swan's Meadows, about nine miles back?"

"Do you call that a draught, you ape of manhood, when you knew that the Jamaica was just employed to precipitate the cursed clayey sediment of that vile mill-pond water. . . ." <sup>13</sup>

Simms here seems to have made use of an incident from Shakespeare's play.

In Falstaff's famous soliloquy on strong drink in the second part of *Henry the Fourth* (Act IV, Scene iii) he says that strong drink is necessary to courage, and ends, "If I had a thousand sons, the first humane principle I would teach them should be, to forswear thin potations and to addict themselves to sack.—" Similarly, we find Porgy saying:

"Ah! they never got such liquor on Olympus. Their nectar was a poor wishy-washy sort of stuff. . . . Drinking whiskey or Jamaica, Nero might have been a fool, a wretch, a murderer . . . might have committed any crime, but cowardice! Whiskey or Jamaica might have saved Rome from Gaul and Vandal. The Barbarians, be sure, drank the most potent beverages. . . ."

"Ah! say nothing of our progeny. Do not build upon the degenerates. It may be that the milksops will fancy it bad taste, nay, even immoral, on the part of their ancestors, to have swallowed Jamaica or whiskey at all. . . ." <sup>14</sup>

It is perhaps significant that both disquisitions begin with noting the effect of strong drink on courage and end with remarks on the future. Falstaff's saying what he would have his sons do might well have reminded Simms of what the sons of Porgy's generation had done.

There are, of course, many possible sources for casuistry and Euphuism besides Falstaff, but in the case of Porgy I believe that Falstaff is the most logical source for both. As for casuistry, Falstaff's defense of purse taking, ". . . 'tis no sin for a man to labor in his vocation," <sup>15</sup> is typical of him. Porgy frequently shows the same

<sup>13</sup> Simms, *Katherine Walton*, Chapter XXXIX.

<sup>14</sup> Simms, *The Forayers*, Chapter XLV.

<sup>15</sup> Shakespeare, *Henry the Fourth*, Part One, I, ii.

kind of reasoning; for example, his remarks when he learns that his commander "don't care for all the terrapin in the swamp":

"Then no good can come of him; he's an infidel. I would not march with him for the world. Don't believe in terrapin! A man ought to believe in all that's good; and there's nothing so good as a terrapin."<sup>16</sup>

As for Euphuism, it is Porgy's regular way of expressing himself. I give two examples from Porgy's speech to illustrate:

"... for though a man's teeth are prime agents and work resolutely enough for his belly, yet it is scarcely the part of good manners to throw one's belly continually into one's teeth."<sup>17</sup>

"... to be made the fruit of the tree against the nature of the tree—to be hitched into cross-grained timbers against the grain—to die the death of a dog after living the life of a man..."<sup>18</sup>

These examples of Porgy's speech remind one of that of his more famous prototype.

A matter of influence, of course, is very difficult to prove, but it seems to me that we are safe in saying that Simms did use Falstaff as a "sort of painter's model."

### III

If this conclusion in regard to Falstaff and Porgy is valid, in fashioning his character Simms had to reconcile two contradictory facts. On the one hand, Falstaff, however lovable, was undoubtedly a rogue; on the other hand, a South Carolina gentleman, in Simms's opinion, could not be a rogue and remain a gentleman. It is interesting to follow Simms's method of solving his problem. Those characteristics of Falstaff that would become a South Carolina gentleman he used freely; others not so fitting he modified; still others, like an unchivalric attitude towards women, he omitted entirely. In addition, he gave Porgy all the qualities necessary to the Southern gentleman. It is perhaps unfortunate but certainly true that the rogue in literature has a certain charm that the spotless hero can never have. Simms was attempting to capture the roguish charm of Falstaff, but he could never quite reconcile himself to the roguery.

<sup>16</sup> Simms, *The Partisan*, Chapter XXXIII.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter XXXVIII.

<sup>18</sup> Simms, *Katherine Walton*, Chapter XV.

The result is that while Porgy is much more interesting than most of Simms's gentlemen, he would have a better right to fame if he were less admirable.

As I have said, certain characteristics of Falstaff were not out of place in a South Carolina gentleman. The most outstanding of these, of course, was a tremendous belly. Simms makes much of this in Porgy, and Porgy himself constantly refers to it, though, like Falstaff, he loses his temper if anyone else has too much to say on the subject. Another characteristic of Falstaff was his constant attention to the bottle. This, too, was not unbecoming in an eighteenth-century gentleman, and Simms uses it to the fullest possible extent in Porgy, who seldom appears without his Jamaica but who, in spite of all his expressed love for drinking, never appears drunk. Porgy, too, has Falstaff's love for laughter and talk, for witty persiflage and well-turned phrases, and his habit of badgering his followers. Porgy is most appealing in so far as he is most like his prototype.

Throughout the scenes in which Porgy appears, however, one is aware that Simms is unwilling to let his character say or do anything that might be held against him. Falstaff, for instance, steals without compunction whenever he gets a good chance; but when Porgy appropriates a soldier's blanket for the night, he instructs his servant to return it in the morning and to carry "a sup of Jamaica" with it.<sup>19</sup> Simms is not even content to let his favorite jest without restraint; and when he fears that the reader may be taking Porgy too lightly, he corrects the impression:

If we have said or shown anything calculated to lessen his [Porgy's] dignity in the eyes of any of our readers, remorse must follow. Porgy might *play* the buffoon, if he pleased; but in the mean time, let it be understood, that he was born to wealth, and had received the education of a gentleman.<sup>20</sup>

Simms, it seems, thought that the fact that a man "was born to wealth, and had received the education of a gentleman," was sufficient proof of his dignity. It is this middle-class conception of a gentleman that hampers him most in portraying a character of that class.

Many characteristics of Falstaff, as I have said, could not even

<sup>19</sup> Simms, *The Partisan*, Chapter XXXVIII.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter XXXIII.



be whittled down to suit Simms's requirements for his character. Simms did not consider the fat knight a coward,<sup>21</sup> but, then, Falstaff was certainly no model of heroism and frequently let himself appear a coward. Porgy, on the other hand, is always represented as a brave and efficient officer, remarkably active for a man of his bulk. Falstaff was a habitual liar, but Porgy never tells a lie except in a joke. Falstaff cheated Dame Quickly unmercifully, but Porgy is chivalry itself in his relations with women, high and low. Falstaff was an adept at graft, but Porgy serves for love of his country, without pay and without expectation of reward. Simms is consistently unwilling to let his favorite do or be anything that does not fit his ideal of a South Carolina gentleman.

So far we have seen Porgy as a sort of censored Falstaff, but he is more than that. Not content with strictly limiting the partisan's vices, Simms gives him all the virtues that the Southern gentleman ought to have. Porgy is generous to prodigality, not only with his friends but even with Dr. Oakenburg, whom he dislikes. We find him sharing the last drink of his beloved Jamaica with his slave when there is little prospect of more strong drink being secured.<sup>22</sup> He is hot-tempered by nature, but does not take offense even when called "Porpoise" because he realizes that no offense is meant.<sup>23</sup> He is well read, and is intelligent in his criticism of the ballads of his friend Dennison.<sup>24</sup> His philosophy enables him to adjust himself to every situation while his ingenuity enables him to make the best of it. He is kind to his slaves and is, of course, loved by them. He is, in fact, entirely too good for a character whose chief charm is picaresque.

#### IV

From this study of Porgy the following conclusions stand out clear: Simms did not allow himself perfect freedom in characterizing Porgy. The reason for his restraint was his notion of what a South Carolina gentleman must be. This restraint weakens the character of Porgy, whose chief charm is picaresque.

In our trying to understand Simms's other gentlemen, most of whom are wooden, these conclusions are helpful. The trouble is not that Simms lacked the ability to portray character well. His

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter X, quoted above.

<sup>22</sup> Simms, *Woodcraft*, Chapter XVIII.

<sup>23</sup> Simms, *Eutaw*, Chapter XXVIII.

<sup>24</sup> Simms, *Katherine Walton*, Chapter XVIII.

romances are full of interesting and well-drawn figures. From the Revolutionary romances alone one remembers Goggle, Thumb-screw, Supple Jack Bannister, Pete Blodget and his mother, Ballou, 'Bram, Hellfire Dick, and others; and one realizes that all of them are poor whites or negroes and that no more than two or three gentlemen or ladies remain in his mind as individuals. Simms has given us splendid scouts, "swamp suckers," "Florida refugees," squatters, and slaves. They have talked in a convincingly homely idiom, and we feel that we know how they thought, what they did, and how they were affected by the circumstances of the story. At the same time automata called gentlemen have done what the plot required and have spoken their inflated lines.

Simms's low-life characters, then, are much better done than his gentlemen,<sup>25</sup> and there must be a reason for the difference. This study shows that Simms's middle-class conception of a gentleman had a detrimental effect on his characterization of Porgy. This same middle-class conception, dominating the portrayal of most of Simms's gentlemen, explains, partly at least, his lack of success with such characters.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 128:

"He [Simms] is at ease only out of doors. . . . When he enters the drawing-room his stilted language betrays his lack of ease. . . .

"Simms dearly loved a rogue, and the more picturesque the latter's knavery the more he loved him. A gentleman villain turns to a thing of wood in his hands, but a low-born rascal he creates out of living flesh and blood."

# RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

## I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- George Cary Eggleston. Ewing Anderson (Duke).
- Lafcadio Hearn and Herbert Spencer. R. M. Lawless (Chicago).
- The Life and Works of T. W. Higginson. H. W. Hintz (New York University).
- The Reputation of Herman Melville. Hugh Hetherington (Michigan).
- The Life and Works of Thomas Paine. Frank Smith (Columbia).
- The Life and Works of James Gates Percival. Harry R. Warfel (Yale).
- Charles Sealsfield: Novelist of Early American Life. Nanette Ashby (Stanford).
- A Critical Study of the Novels of William Gilmore Simms. Hampton M. Jarrell (Duke).
- Constance Fenimore Woolson. John D. Kern (Pennsylvania).

## II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- The Southern Literary Messenger*, 1834-1864. David K. Jackson, Jr. (Duke).
- Writings Pertaining to Religion in Eighteenth-century American Magazines. R. C. White (Harvard).

## III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- Critical Opinion in American Periodicals, 1780-1812. H. L. Flewelling (Michigan).
- A Critical Study of George W. Cable. Rosa Lee Walston (Duke).
- John Pendleton Kennedy. E. M. Gwathmey (Virginia). Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931.
- Abraham Lincoln in Literature: The Growth of an American Legend. Roy P. Basler (Duke).
- The Negro as Author. Vernon Loggins (Columbia).
- Alexander Wilson. Gordon Wilson (Indiana). Summary privately printed, 1931.

## IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

- An Authorized Edition of the Hitherto Unpublished Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, with a calendar of letters already in print. R. L. Rusk (Columbia). [Any information regarding published or unpublished holograph letters, and any aid in securing photostatic copies of such letters, will be welcome and will be given proper

acknowledgment. Notices of letters printed in obscure books or in periodicals of only local importance will also be gladly received.]

Frank R. Stockton. W. L. Werner (Penn. State).

A Life of James T. Fields; Captain Mayne Reid. Frank C. Lockwood (Arizona).

The St. Louis Movement in Philosophy: Source Material, edited by Charles M. Perry (Oklahoma). Norman, Okla.: The University of Okla. Press, 1930.

Place Names and Early Books concerning Colorado. L. J. Davidson (Denver).

A Study and reprinting of all the hitherto uncollected notes and articles by Walt Whitman in *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1846-1848. Theodore A. Zunder (Hunter).

An Analysis of English Travel Books, from the earliest which mentions America, with a view to ascertaining the elements which went into the concept of a New World, including (1) the supposed interaction of climate on character; (2) the notion of exhaustless fertility; (3) the concept of the savage; (4) theories about the New World, especially its supposed superiority to inferiority of the Old; (5) the attitude toward immigration; and later (6) the qualities of the Americans. Howard Mumford Jones (Michigan).

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ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer.*

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

### I. 1607-1800

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Adams, R. G. "And Sold by Messrs. Franklin and Hall." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LV, 24-31 (Jan., 1931).

An account of a recently discovered Franklin item, *An Historical Account of Earthquakes*, 1761.

Anonymous. "Poem on the Death of Franklin." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, XV, 109 (Jan., 1930).

Eddy, G. S. "Account Book of Benjamin Franklin Kept by Him during His First Mission to England as Provincial Agent, 1757-1762." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LV, 97-133 (Apr., 1931).

A hitherto unpublished Franklin item.

Eddy, G. S. "A Work Book of the Printing House of Benjamin Franklin and David Hall, 1759-1766." *N. Y. Pub. Lib. Bulletin*, XXXIV, 575-589 (Aug., 1930).

A discussion of the manuscript "Work-Book No. 2," showing the business relations of Franklin and Hall.

Faÿ, B. "Le Triomphe de Franklin en France." *Rev. de Paris* for Feb. 15, 1931, pp. 872-896.

[WILLIAMS, ROGER] Ernst, J. "Roger Williams and the English Revolution." *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, XXIV, 1-58 (Jan., 1931).

The influence of Williams in England is discussed.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Hawley, H. L. "Puritan Literature." *Historical Outlook*, XXI, 369-372 (Dec., 1930).

Pew, W. A. "The Spirit of Puritanism." *Hist. Coll. of the Essex Institute*, LXVII, 137-144 (Apr., 1931).

### II. 1800-1870

[ALCOTT, A. B.] Gohdes, C. "Alcott's 'Conversation' on the Transcendental Club and *The Dial*." *Am. Lit.*, III, 14-27 (Mar., 1931).

Alcott's remarks are reprinted from *The Commonwealth* (Boston) for Apr. 24, 1863.

Warren, A. "The Orphic Sage: Bronson Alcott." *Am. Lit.*, III, 3-13 (Mar., 1931).

Alcott's doctrines are set forth.

[BRYANT, W. C.] McDowell, T. "Cullen Bryant Prepares for College." *South Atlantic Quart.*, XXX, 125-133 (Apr., 1931).

[CHANNING, DR. W. E.] Peabody, F. G. "The Humanism of William Ellery Channing." *Christian Register*, CIX, 407-409 (May 15, 1930).

[COOPER, J. F.] Spiller, R. E. "Fenimore Cooper and Lafayette: The Finance Controversy of 1831-1832." *Am. Lit.*, III, 28-44 (Mar., 1931).

[EMERSON, R. W.] Pettigrew, R. C. "Emerson and Milton." *Am. Lit.*, III, 45-59 (Mar., 1931).

"Emerson's criticism of Milton . . . tends to emphasize unduly the ethical and didactic excellences in Milton."

Thorp, W. "Emerson on Tour." *Quart. Jour. of Speech*, XVI, 19-34 (Feb., 1930).

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Brown, E. K. "Hawthorne, Melville, and 'Ethan Brand.'" *Am. Lit.*, III, 72-75 (Mar., 1931).

There is no evidence for the legend that in "Ethan Brand" Hawthorne portrayed Melville.

Chandler, E. L. "Hawthorne's *Spectator*." *N. Eng. Quart.*, IV, 289-330 (Apr., 1931).

A reproduction of the weekly newspaper which Hawthorne edited in his youth, with an introduction and explanatory footnotes.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Langfield, W. R. "The Poems of Washington Irving." *N. Y. Pub. Lib. Bulletin*, XXXIV, 763-799 (Nov., 1930).

Poems by Irving which have never before been printed as a collection.

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] Berry, M. F. "Lincoln—the Speaker." *Quart. Jour. of Speech*, XVII, 25-40 and 177-190 (Feb. and Apr., 1931).

A study of Lincoln's art as a public speaker, with contemporary and recent critical appreciations.

Hubbell, J. B. "Lincoln's First Inaugural Address." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI, 550-552 (Apr., 1931).

Lincoln's concluding paragraph, based upon one written by W. H. Seward, recalls, in subject matter and phraseology, the final portion of No. 14 of *The Federalist*.

Whitcomb, P. S. "Lincoln's 'Gettysburg Address.'" *Tyler's Quart. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XII, 221-235 (Apr., 1931).

[LOWELL, J. R.] Winterich, J. T. "Romantic Stories of Books, Second Series: *The Biglow Papers*." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 1605-1610 (Mar. 21, 1931).

[PAYNE, J. H.] Morris, M. "Mary Shelley and John Howard Payne." *London Mercury*, XXII, 443-450 (Sept., 1930).

[THOREAU, H. D.] Hinckley, E. B. "Thoreau and Boston: Two Observers of Cape Cod." *N. Eng. Quart.*, IV, 216-229 (Apr., 1931).

"Thoreau's "contacts with Cape Cod . . . casual, transient, and superficial," contrasted with those of Henry Beston, who lived on the Cape. [WHITTIER, J. G.] Initials H. S. T. "John Greenleaf Whittier Manuscripts: The Oak Knoll Collection." *Hist. Coll. of the Essex Institute*, LXVII, 113-118 (Apr., 1931).

A description of some of the numerous items in the Oak Knoll collection of Whittier manuscripts, which contains upwards of 800 letters addressed to the poet by literary men and admirers. The Essex Institute, into whose custody the collection has come, is preparing a suitable classification of the material.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Benson, A. B. "Fredrika Bremer's Unpublished Letters to the Downings." *Scandinavian Studies*, XI, 1-10, 39-53, 71-78, 109-124, 149-172 (Feb., May, Aug., Nov., 1930, and Feb., 1931).

The majority of these letters were written in America between 1848 and 1856. The publication is to be continued. Fredrika Bremer was a Swedish novelist and feminist who met most of the eminent American literati.

Colomb, R. W. "Dufour's Local Sketches, 1847." *Louisiana Hist. Quart.*, XIV, 208-234 (Apr., 1931).

A translation, with head-notes, of a series of sketches of prominent men that appeared in the *Courrier de la Louisiane*, a New Orleans periodical.

Folsom, J. F. "Alexander Wilson as a Bloomfield Schoolmaster." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, XV, 199-210 (Apr., 1930).

An account of the letters and poems inspired by the schoolmaster-ornithologist's nine months' residence in Bloomfield, N. J., 1801.

Jenks, W. L. "Calendar of Michigan Copyrights." *Mich. History Mag.*, XIV, 311-313, 150-155; and XV, 126-129 (Spring and Winter, 1930; and Winter, 1931).

The copyrights are largely of the years 1869 and 1870.

Hunt, W. S. "The American Dickens." *Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, XV, 446 (Oct., 1930).

An account of the life of Theodore Winthrop and an estimate of his novels, essays, stories, and poems.

Landrum, G. W. "Notes on the Reading of the Old South." *Am. Lit.*, III, 60-71 (Mar., 1931).

The "scantiness of books in the South and the consequent lack of reading have been over-emphasized."

Shanks, C. L. "The Biblical Anti-Slavery Argument of the Decade 1830-1840." *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XVI, 132-157 (Apr., 1931).

A study of the use of the Bible made by both pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions.

Stolberg-Wernigerode, O. "Unbekannte Gespräche mit Bismarck." *Süddeutsche Monatschrift*, XXVII, 299-324.

Conversations with the historians Motley and Bancroft.

### III. 1870-1900

[BIERCE, AMBROSE] McWilliams, C. "The Mystery of Ambrose Bierce." *Am. Mercury*, XXII, 330-337.

Bierce, perhaps, lost his life at Ojinaga, Mexico, to which place he went on December 16, 1913. All communication with his secretary ceased on that date.

[JAMES, HENRY] McCarthy. "The World of Henry James." *Living Age*, CCCXXXIX, 491-498 (Jan., 1931).

Henry James created a world that would enable him to investigate people, particularly their emotions and their relations with each other.

[HEARN, LAFCADIO] Beck, E. C. "Letters of Lafcadio Hearn to His Brother." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XX, 287-292 (Apr., 1931).

Two letters, one dated January 16, 1890, containing a wealth of biographical material.

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Starke, A. H. "William Dean Howells and Sidney Lanier." *Am. Lit.*, III, 79-82 (Mar., 1931).

Howells rejected several of Lanier's poems which were offered to *The Atlantic Monthly* and did not mention the poet in any of his published writings or in his published correspondence.

[LANIER, SIDNEY] See item above.

[MILLER, JOAQUIN] Lorch, F. W. "A Note on Joaquin Miller." *Am. Lit.*, III, 75-78 (Mar., 1931).

The poet's middle name was *Hiner*.

[MOODY, W. V.] Lovett, R. M. "Memories of William Vaughn Moody." *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLVII, 385-393 (Mar., 1931).

Moody's undergraduate days at Harvard and first years of teaching at Chicago, described by a colleague and intimate friend.

[SILL, E. R.] Arvin, N. "The Failure of E. R. Sill." *Bookman*, LXXII, 581-589 (Feb., 1931).

### IV. 1900-1931

Anderson, Sherwood. "The Country Weekly." *Forum*, LXXXV, 208-213 (Apr., 1931).

Concerning the opportunities connected with the editing of a country weekly.



[CABELL, J. B.] Hatcher, H. "On Not Having Read James Branch Cabell." *Bookman*, LXXII, 597-599 (Feb., 1931).

[FROST, ROBERT] Aykroyd, G. O. "The Classical in Robert Frost." *Poet Lore*, XL, 610-614 (Winter, 1929).

Frost, because of his effort to interpret American culture through American expression, abjures classical allusion almost entirely.

Wilson, J. S. "Robert Frost: American Poet." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, VII, 316-320 (Apr., 1931).

A critique of Frost's *Collected Poems*, which holds this volume to be the richest produced in America since Poe's 1845 volume.

[GLASGOW, ELLEN] Parker, W. R. "Ellen Glasgow: A Gentle Rebel." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XX, 187-194 (March, 1931).

[GUINEY, LOUISE I.] Donelin, M. C. "Louise Imogen Guiney." *Journal Am. Irish Hist. Soc.*, XXVIII, 107-111.

[HAWTHORNE, JULIAN] Stevenson, L. "The Dean of American Letters." *Bookman*, LXXIII, 164-172 (Apr., 1931).

Julian Hawthorne is regarded as the "Dean."

[LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Anonymous. Newspaper comments on the Dreiser-Lewis quarrel. *Lit. Dig.*, CIX, 15-16 (Apr., 1931).

Binsse, H. L. and Trounstone, J. J. "Europe Looks at Sinclair Lewis." *Bookman*, LXXII, 453-457 (Jan., 1931).

"A theory to account for Lewis's enormous reputation abroad among both general readers and national academies."

Hülsenbeck, R. "Sinclair Lewis." *Living Age*, CCCXXXIX, 479-482 (Jan., 1931).

Translated from the *Literarische Welt*.

Karlfeldt, E. A. "Sinclair Lewis and the Nobel Prize." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, VII, 524-525 (Jan. 10, 1931).

Translated from the Swedish by Naboth Hedin.

[POUND, EZRA] Taupin, R. "La Poésie d'Ezra Pound." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, VIII, 221-236 (Feb., 1931).

[STERLING, GEORGE] Johnson, M. "American First Editions: George Sterling (1869-1926)." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 2023-2024 (Apr. 18, 1931).

[SUCKOW, RUTH] Frederick, J. T. "Ruth Suckow and the Middle Western Literary Movement." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XX, 1-8 (Jan., 1931).

[WILDER, THORNTON] Twitchett, E. G. "Mr. Thornton Wilder." *London Mercury*, XXII, 32-39.

[NEW HUMANISM] Bernbaum, E. "The Practical Results of the Humanistic Theories." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XX, 103-109 (Feb., 1931).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anonymous. "The School of Cruelty." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, VII, 609 (Feb. 21, 1931).

On the "sadist strain" in contemporary American literature.

Bushby, D. M. "Poets of Our Southern Frontier." *Overland Monthly*, LXXXIX, 41-42, 58 (Feb., 1931).

Robinson Jeffers discussed as the leading poet of the Southwest.

Shipp, H. "America Contributes." *Eng. Rev.*, LII, 510-512 (Apr., 1931).

Mentions American plays now running in London.

## V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Bevier, T. J. "American Use of the Subjunctive." *Am. Speech*, VI, 207-215 (Feb., 1931).

Carter, V. "University of Missouri Slang." *Am. Speech*, VI, 203-206 (Feb., 1931).

Clough, W. O. "The Book Reviewer's Vocabulary." *Am. Speech*, VI, 180-186 (Feb., 1931).

Craigie, W. A. "An American Language." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, VII, 614-615 (Feb. 21, 1931).

Raises the question whether, strictly speaking, there is an American language.

Craigie, W. A. "Collecting for the Historical Dictionary of American English." *Am. Speech*, VI, 173-179 (Feb., 1931).

Dewitt, M. E. "The National Art of Oral English and the American College." *Am. Speech*, VI, 187-202 (Feb., 1931).

Greet, W. C. "A Phonographic Expedition to Williamsburg, Virginia." *Am. Speech*, VI, 161-172 (Feb., 1931).

Holter, T. E. "Twenty Idioms Illustrating the Influence of Swedish on English." *Am. Speech*, VI, 216-217 (Feb., 1931).

Parler, M. C. "Word-List from Wedgefield, South Carolina." *Dialect Notes*, VI, Part II, 79-85 (1930).

Pendleton, P. E. "How the 'Wood Hicks' Speak: Some Observations Made in Upshur County, West Virginia." *Dialect Notes*, VI, Part II, 86-89 (1930).

Word-list of dialect of natives in the foothills of the Allegheny Mountains.

## VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Dobie, C. C. "The First California Authors." *Bookman*, LXXII, 590-596 (Feb., 1931).

"Mr. Dobie denies that California has brought forth any true regional literature."

Forbes, C. "The St. Louis School of Thought: Part II." *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 289-305 (Jan., 1931).

This section deals with William Torrey Harris (1835-1909).

Grattan, C. H. "Wanted: Unemployed Authors." *Bookman*, LXXIII, 48-55 (Mar., 1931).

"The field of American letters presents many problems which have been ignored or unsatisfactorily handled. Mr. Grattan gives a number of informal suggestions for work which would be of great value to literary historians."

Johns, G. S. "Joseph Pulitzer: Part I." *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 201-218 (Jan., 1931).

Karpinski, L. C. "Manuscript Maps of America in European Archives." *Mich. History Mag.*, XIV, 5-14 (Winter, 1930).

Maps of America in European archives—where the originals and reproductions may be found.

Kennedy, W. H. J. "Catholics in Massachusetts before 1750." *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XVII, 10-28 (Apr., 1931).

Puckett, N. N. "Religious Folk-Beliefs of Whites and Negroes." *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XVI, 9-35 (Jan., 1931).

Negro folk-beliefs, except, perhaps, those connected with religious dancing, are of European rather than African origin.

Mendoza, A. "Some 'Firsts' of American Humor 1830-1875." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXIX, 1603-1605 (Mar. 21, 1931).

Ranck, M. A. "Some Remnants of Frontier Journalism." *Chronicles of Okla.*, VIII, 378-388 and IX, 63-70 (Dec., 1930, and Mar., 1931).

Clippings from Oklahoma papers of the nineties.

Richardson, R. P. "The Rise and Fall of the Parliament of Religions at Greenacre." *Open Court*, VI, 129-166 (Mar., 1931).

Rourke, C. "Our Comic Heritage." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, VII, 678-679 (Mar. 21, 1931).

Deals with native types and folk legends and modes of thought viewed as contributions to the literary and cultural heritage of America.

Stace, Sister F. "Michigan's Contribution to Literature." *Mich. History Mag.*, XIV, 226-232 (Spring, 1930).

Tait, S. W. "The St. Louis Post Dispatch." *Am. Mercury*, XXII, 403-412 (Apr., 1931).

## BOOK REVIEWS

LETTERS OF HENRY ADAMS (1858-1891). Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. \$5.00.

Surely the extraordinary record which the Adams family has made of itself, in letters, diaries, autobiographies, and lives of one Adams by another, is the chief of American chronicles; and the letters of Henry Adams constitute an important addition to the vast cycle. If they are inferior to the foremost portions of the record, such as John Quincy's diary and the *Education*, they are second only to such major monuments and are rich in intrinsic interest. They supplement the *Education*, the autobiography of Charles Francis, Junior, and the *Cycle of Adams Letters*, and help carry the family annals, which come so close to being also national annals, from Revolutionary days well into the present era.

The student of American history might well be advised to spend his days and nights with the Adamses, for apparently the tribe has been endowed with a quality of intelligence such that no Adams has ever being capable of writing a dull word. They may have been crabbed, crochety, misguided, or otherwise at fault, but their comment is always their own and incisive, never merely banal. And the rarity of such comment in our history is but too painfully evident. Henry Adams's letters begin with him a twenty-year-old student in Germany in 1858; they take him to Washington during the critical winter between Lincoln's election and inauguration, when Henry's father was preserving the government by sheer delay; they take him to London during the years when his father was Minister to England; they bring him back to this country for his two years as a free-lance in Washington and his two years as professor and editor; they follow him after his marriage in 1872 through his long residence in Washington when he was writing his *History* and during his many wanderings to Europe, Japan, the South Seas, and round the globe, leaving him finally in Paris in 1891. The letters thus afford a contemporary account of thirty-three eventful years.

Probably the *Letters* will attract the most general interest for their portraits and criticisms of famous men—of Seward:

I sat and watched the old fellow with his big nose and his wire hair and grizzly eyebrows and miserable dress, and listened to him rolling out his grand, broad ideas that would inspire a cow to statesmanship if she understood our language.

## Of the Stevensons:

At last we came out on a clearing dotted with burned stumps exactly like a clearing in our backwoods. In the middle stood a two-story Irish shanty with steps outside to the upper floor, and a galvanised iron roof. A pervasive atmosphere of dirt seemed to hang around it, and the squalor like a railroad navvy's board hut. As we reached the steps a figure came out that I cannot do justice to. Imagine a man so thin and emaciated that he looked like a bundle of sticks in a bag, with a head and eyes morbidly intelligent and restless. He was costumed in a dirty striped cotton pyjamas, the baggy legs tucked into coarse knit woollen stockings, one of which was bright brown in color, the other a purplish dark tone. With him was a woman who retired for a moment into the house to reappear a moment afterwards, probably in some change of costume, but, as far as I could see, the change could have consisted only in putting shoes on her bare feet. She wore the usual missionary nightgown which was no cleaner than her husband's shirt and drawers, but she omitted the stockings. Her complexion and eyes were dark and strong, like a half-breed Mexican.

But of greater consequence than such portrayals, caustic and vivid as they are, are the many glimpses which Adams gives behind the scenes into American history in the making, especially during the winter of 1860-61, and during his own active participation in the Reform Party after the Civil War.

Still more important, however, is the new light which the *Letters* shed on Henry Adams himself—light which is doubly welcome because the author of the *History* and the *Education* is both an eminent writer and an enigma. Of his *History* he says:

You find my last two volumes more critical—deliberately fault finding?—than the earlier ones. They were written chiefly within the last five or six years, and in a very different frame of mind from that in which the work was begun. I found it hard to pretend either sympathy or interest in my subject. If you compare the tone of my first volume—even toned down, as it is, from the original—with that of the ninth when it appears, you will feel that the light has gone out. I am not to blame. As long as I could make life work, I stood by it, and swore by it as though it was my God, as indeed it was. . . .

Really I think I do not much care, for I feel that the history is not what I care now to write, or want to say, if I say anything. It belongs to the *me* of 1870; a strangely different being from the *me* of 1890. There are not nine pages in the nine volumes that now express anything of my interests or feelings; unless perhaps some of my disillusionments.

The riddle of Henry Adams—of why a man so able should have proved relatively so ineffectual—may never be solved; but at least the *Letters* do much to elucidate the *Education*. For one thing, they serve to remind the reader of that work that it was written by a bored and exacerbated old man, and that therefore, for all its pretense of impersonality, it is not a reliable nor wholly truthful record of a life. Its perspective and its coloring badly need correction. The Henry of the early letters, though the virus of self-distrust and doubt and irony is already present in him, is ambitious and hopeful of a public career such as befitted a member of his family. Furthermore, after his return from London in

1868, he went far towards making such a career for himself. It is obvious that he was not forced out of it, but abandoned it or drifted away from it of himself, whether because of lack of energy or hopelessness or circumstance or something else. The reader of the *Education* is naturally inclined to believe that the Gilded Age offered no opportunity or encouragement to such a career as Adams wished, nor is this view entirely false; but the *Letters* make plain that Henry achieved a degree of success and recognition more than sufficient to induce most young men to continue. Why did he give up?

The letters indicate two, or perhaps three, turning points in his life. The first, and ultimately the gravest, was his abandonment of his work as publicist in Washington to become Professor of Medieval History at Harvard. To be sure, as editor of *The North American Review* he continued his connection with the political reformers; but almost all his energies had to be given to study and teaching. It was the beginning of his transformation from man of affairs to historian—for him, a serious mistake. Thereafter his marriage freed him from the economic spur and made his retirement from active life the easier. And finally his wife's death in 1885 marked a pronounced change in the tone of his mind and his attitude toward life—a change from historian to philosopher.

That Henry Adams might well have been a happier man had he continued the career auspiciously begun in 1868, it would be hard to deny; whether the world gained or lost by his vicissitudes is doubtful. But at any rate, the virtues of *Mont Saint-Michel* and the *Education* spring directly from his own tragedy; had his own suffering not forced him into an effort to justify existence, those books could not have been written; if he had found the effort an easier one, they would be less valuable than they are.

*The University of California.*

T. K. WHIPPLE.

ROADSIDE MEETINGS. By Hamlin Garland. New York: The Macmillan Company. vi, 474 pp. \$3.50.

Hamlin Garland has as secure a place in the history of American letters as any of the writers of his generation. He has won this place not by his work as a whole but by the excellence of particular books, one might almost say by the excellence with which he expressed a mood in American social politics. It is unlikely that his work will ever be celebrated by æsthetic critics, but he is certain always to appeal to writers with a sociological bias of the type of Professor Parrington. Parrington, indeed, devoted an appreciative section in his last volume to Garland and

concluded: "To have sought the spirit of the Middle Border in its hopes and its defeat, to have written the history of the generation that swept across the western prairies, is to compress within covers a great movement and a great experience—one of the significant chapters in our total American history." From that verdict no socio-literary critic of this generation is likely to dissent.

In this, his latest book, Garland presents his literary reminiscences. As such his book is of great value, containing as it does the reflections of a man who had an unusual capacity for friendship and a talent for getting his feelings down on paper. One cannot endorse either his approvals or disapprovals in any blanket fashion, but one can draw from the book a great deal of valuable information of a neutral sort which helps to make clear the tenor of the period and the quality of the writers who worked in it: Howells, Herne, Burroughs, Crane, Riley, Henry B. Fuller, Miller, Henry James, and the editors of the old-line and new-line magazines.

For one thing it is apparent that Garland was not so rebellious as one might suppose from a reading of the reception accorded his early work. In spite of the fact that he carried into literature the agrarian unrest of the eighteen-nineties and in spite of the fact that he sought to bring into American literature a franker realism than that of William Dean Howells, he was not a firm and uncompromising critic of the existing social and artistic order. His career, therefore, follows a normal curve of change: from rebelliousness to respectability. There is no evidence that Garland sought respectability, but rather it seems that respectability was thrust upon him. The world moved and he didn't. To be sure, he didn't fall so far behind the advance guard as his political counterpart, William Jennings Bryan, but in effect his later days have been as much devoted to opposing trends of thought in the arts as Bryan's were in religion and morals.

The fact that Garland finds himself in the peculiar position today of condemning the more adventurous writers of every literary period subsequent to that in which he flourished, is attributable as much to a confusion of values as anything else. This confusion is clearly manifest in the accounts he gives (valuable as they are as data) of Stephen Crane, Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley, James A. Herne, and others. Of the group I have cited, Crane is plainly the most important but one would never guess it from Garland's account; and he introduces into his discussion this disconcerting note: "I could not see him developing as Owen Wister and Booth Tarkington were developing." We have here, I think, a key to Garland's peculiar tragedy. He did not envisage literature in any larger terms, socially, than the responses one could expect

from the American middle class of his day. Coming from the farm when agriculture was passing through one of its periodic crises, he was full of fervor to better the lot of the farmers, but that betterment he saw only in terms of a wider distribution of the boons already granted to the middle class. If he wished his realism to go a step beyond that of William Dean Howells, it was because he was nearer the soil than Howells and felt that the American audience could stand a bit more than Howells was giving it. He definitely, in this book, repudiates any connection with the "present-day school of pornographic fiction," as he most unjustly and blindly designates it.

Garland was simply one more victim of the American curse, gentility. Obscurely he knew that gentility is not a value but a convention. He could not escape it, however, nor could he escape that other trap eternally set for the American writer: money. His case is not like that of Bret Harte, whose letters are one long wail of anguish about his money troubles. Harte could not get money in sufficient quantities to satisfy him. Garland got it to his detriment. He frankly confesses his fault:

As a lover of literature I leaned to the side of Gilder and Alden, but I sold most of my stories to Bok and McClure. Corrupted without realizing it, I pretended to scorn the tempter. . . . I had the wish to be a kind of social historian and in the end fell, inevitably, between two stools. I failed as a reporter and only half succeeded as a novelist. . . . I found myself writing three-part romances for *The Home Journal*, essays on Ibsen, Impressionism and other controversial subjects for *The Forum*, biographical subjects for McClure's and stories of the mountain West for Lorimer's *Post*. I claim no alibi. If I am less guilty than other writers, it is only because I had less ability. My journalistic efforts were too feeble, too half-hearted to be of much service. I wrote for McClure's but I continued to visit the Century's literary salon!

Now one may ironically wonder after all if it much matters that he did not stick to Gilder and Alden, for in abandoning them he was abandoning the convention that was stifling him in any case. But the point is that in accepting the lure of McClure, Bok, and Lorimer he split his personality and could not accomplish what in his heart he wished to accomplish; he could not do the best that was in him within the limits of his conceptions.

His best work was not done, then, when he was at the height of his career, but in the beginning when he was an outsider and at the end when he thought over his younger days and his family history. He was at his best when he wrote *Main Travelled Roads*, the Middle Border series, and this present honest book.

Elmhurst, N. Y.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN.



MARGARET FULLER: *A Biography*. By Margaret Bell. With an introduction by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. 1930. \$0.50.

Miss Bell's life of Boston's inspired conversationalist is obviously designed for a feminist public. Margaret Fuller, the woman's woman, whose "Conversations" together with her essay on *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* helped to pave the way for the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, is sympathetically recalled for the benefit of her enfranchised and emancipated sisters of the present time. Scholarly criticism of a popular biography would be an indulgence in unseemly pedantry; however, the attention of the student of the period is attracted by the author's printed statement that "special acknowledgment and thanks are due to Mrs. Arthur Nicholls of Cambridge, Massachusetts, niece of Margaret Fuller, for allowing me to use many unpublished manuscripts and letters." Hope inspired by such a statement of new light on Margaret Fuller and her literary associates is doomed to disappointment.

Among the letters printed by Miss Bell, there are none of importance which have not appeared either in whole or in part in the *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* or in the life by Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Practically all of the letters printed by Miss Bell, with many which she does not give, appear in Higginson, where an index makes them readily accessible to the student. But one undated letter (p. 114) addressed to Samuel G. Ward, printed with excisions, forms a notable exception. On the basis of this letter and brief quotations, presumably from other letters to Ward, Miss Bell conjures up an unreciprocated love on the part of Miss Fuller for Ward. Since Emerson<sup>1</sup> quoted a sentence from this same letter, it must have been among the papers at his disposal in 1852; yet neither he nor any of the subsequent and numerous biographers of Margaret Fuller suggests that Ward was the object of an unrequited love. That an ardent friendship existed between them is obvious, but Margaret was the mistress of friendship, and letters equally impassioned in tone written to James F. Clarke, to F. H. Hedge, even to Emerson, have never been taken as proof of the existence of love. Unless Miss Bell has more conclusive evidence, which she withholds from the reader, her interpretation of this letter is open to question. The language of the Transcendentalists, their free use of such words as "heart," "intercourse," "intimates," "attachment," "passion," was peculiar to the spirit of the time. Modern connotations of these terms should not be attributed to them.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, by J. F. Clarke, R. W. Emerson, and W. H. Channing, I, 304.

In but one other respect does Miss Bell's *Margaret Fuller* offer information not to be found in previous biographies. Where her predecessors have presumably chosen to be reticent, Miss Bell writes at some length (pp. 134-136; p. 155; pp. 157-158) about the unhappy married life of Ellen Fuller and William Ellery Channing, although no documentary evidence is given to support her account. If her version has a basis in fact, a possible relationship is immediately suggested between Margaret Fuller's distress over the hasty marriage of her sister in 1842 and her views on marriage first expressed in the *Dial* article, "The Great Lawsuit," published in 1843. Miss Bell, however, does not bring out this point. Her interest is centered in personality, and the literary side of Miss Fuller's career receives scant attention. For instance, the publication of *Papers on Literature and Art* is not mentioned; and *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* is associated with Miss Fuller's editorial days on the *New York Tribune*, although that pamphlet had gone to press before Miss Fuller assumed her editorial duties.

Miss Bell writes with the lively skill of a good novelist, re-creating the personality of Margaret Fuller in a way to fascinate another generation of women. Julia Ward Howe, to whom Katharine Anthony's recent psychological analysis and interpretation of her idol might have been distasteful, would have gratefully accepted this modern tribute as a companion volume to her own eulogistic biography. However, disinterested students will no doubt continue to prefer the *Memoirs* for contemporary reports and Higginson's *Life* for accurate and accessible information.

*The University of Buffalo.*

HELEN NEILL McMASTER.

BLUE GHOST: *A Study of Lafcadio Hearn*. By Jean Temple. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1931. With a frontispiece portrait. 228 pp. \$2.50.

Lafcadio Hearn, like Poe, like Melville, like Emily Dickinson, was both a tragic and a romantic figure; and he remains, like them, something of an enigma. It is inevitable, therefore, that legends should cling to the man and that many biographies should be written. In the twenty years following his death in 1904, there appeared more than half a dozen extensive studies,<sup>1</sup> not to mention literally dozens of briefer periodical studies. It seems inevitable, too, that there should have arisen

<sup>1</sup> The chief studies are the following:

Elizabeth Bisland (Wetmore), *Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn* (1906).

George M. Gould, *Concerning Lafcadio Hearn* (1908).

Joseph de Smet, *Lafcadio Hearn: l'homme et l'oeuvre* (1911).

the two extreme types of biographer—the hero-worshiper or romantic idealizer, and the modern (so-called) scientific “debunker” or muck-raker. The chief writer in the first school is Elizabeth Bisland; and the chief writers in the second, the men Gould and Tinker.

And now Jean Temple has written a biographical study, which, according to the jacket note, “has nothing in common with the older biographies of Hearn.” One wishes that the jacket note spoke with a degree of accuracy, but Mrs. Temple has decidedly aligned herself with the first school. The scholarly and definitive biography of Hearn is, then, still to be written. (In making the last statement, I am aware, of course, that Mrs. Temple did not attempt a scholarly and definitive biography.) The jacket note also says that Mrs. Temple “has sought to recreate this figure solely from his letters and the fine strange utterance of his art.” Again, one wishes for more accuracy, for Mrs. Temple has apparently drawn heavily on Elizabeth Bisland’s account of Hearn’s life. She pays high tribute to the pioneer work of Miss Bisland but is frequently not careful to give credit, by quotation-marks or footnotes, for statements which seem obviously to be taken from Miss Bisland. A few parallel passages will illustrate:

1. a. *Life and Letters*, I, 100:  
“He saw the fourteenth century turn swiftly,  
amazingly, into the twentieth. . . .”
- b. *Blue Ghost*, p. 120:  
“He saw her step from the fourteenth century  
into the twentieth.”
2. a. *Life and Letters*, I, 111:  
“. . . but the question of the legality of the marriage and of her future troubled  
Hearn from the beginning, and finally obliged him to renounce his English al-  
legiance and become a subject of the Mikado in order that she and her children  
might not suffer from any complications or doubts as to their position.”
- b. *Blue Ghost*, p. 126:  
“But Hearn was always most careful to protect her status, even becoming him-  
self a Japanese citizen for no other reason than to make unquestionable the  
legality of their marriage and the status of their children.”
3. a. *Life and Letters*, I, 113:  
“He was extremely popular with all classes, from  
the governor to the barber. . . .”
- b. *Blue Ghost*, p. 131:  
But by the townsfolk he was beloved, from the  
governor down to the barber.”

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Nina H. Kennard, *Lafcadio Hearn* (1912).

Edward Thomas, *Lafcadio Hearn* (1912).

Edward L. Tinker, *Lafcadio Hearn's American Days* (1925).

Albert Mordell, Introductions to *An American Miscellany* (1924) and *Occidental Gleanings* (1925).

4. a. *Life and Letters*, I, 127:  
 "Professor Chamberlain again came to his aid and secured for him the position of Professor of English in the Imperial University of Tokyo, where his salary was large compared to anything he had as yet received, and where he was permitted an admirable liberty as to methods of teaching."
- b. *Blue Ghost*, p. 182:  
 "... Professor Chamberlain obtained for him the position of lecturer on English literature at the Imperial University, where his salary would be larger than he had ever received, and where he would have also a large measure of liberty."
5. a. *Life and Letters*, I, 140 (quoting Mrs. Hearn's reminiscences):  
 "A Japanese guest would come to our house in Western style and smoke cigarettes, but the host receives him in Japanese cloth [*sic*] and does all in Japanese fashion—a curious contrast."
- b. *Blue Ghost*, p. 188:  
 "A Japanese caller would come in European clothes only to be received by a host wearing the native costume and showing the hospitality of a Japanese home. Cigarettes were the only concession to the West."

These unacknowledged or unconscious borrowings, as the case may be, are relatively unimportant in what, after all, is an interesting study, emphasizing many things that have needed emphasis with reference to Hearn. Mrs. Temple is sharply critical of the studies by Gould and Tinker, pointing out that with Dr. Gould "Hearn was caught like a guinea pig in a laboratory" (p. 108). His personality, she says, "has been victimized by the anecdotal type of biography" (p. 20), and consequently the greatness of the man as artist and thinker, as seen in his letters and books, has been more or less obscured. The only excuse, then, for another study is "an attempt to rediscover Lafcadio Hearn's fine and strange utterance" (p. 20). The title of this study, *Blue Ghost*, is both apt and colorful, for Hearn identified the infinite spirit of the Unknown with the azure skies under which he dwelt in the tropics and in ghostly Japan; and, as Mrs. Temple shows, the expression has frequent mention in his work.

Emphasis is given to the facts that Hearn's literary work in America shows him developing into a fine stylist, partly through his attention to the French masters whom he translated for a discriminating public in New Orleans; that Hearn experienced something of a struggle in breaking away from the languor of the West Indian tropics, but that this break was a turning point and meant the further development of his art; that Hearn did not accept unconditionally Oriental thought as expressed by the Japanese mind, but distinctly retained his Western mind and adapted to his own thinking certain elements of Eastern philosophy; that Hearn made explorations into the Unconscious, strongly suggestive of recent developments in that direction. Hearn, therefore, becomes important as an original thinker. Even as thinker, he never lost that fine

sensitivity to the world of Oriental art, so that Hearn the artist and Hearn the philosopher remain one. Mrs. Temple takes account of Hearn's statement that the most important single event in his life was his discovery of Herbert Spencer. But she does not attempt to trace that influence through his thought, preferring to concentrate on his mysticism.

In spite of the fact, then, that Mrs. Temple has done a considerable piece of work in the interpretation of his thought, there yet remains a number of problems relatively untouched. In addition to the Spencer influence, we need to know more about Hearn's sources, about his reception and influence among the Japanese, about his relations with and attitudes toward women, about his attitude toward Western aggression in the East, and perhaps a good deal more about the development of his style. Even so, if Mrs. Temple's study, though somewhat over-enthusiastic and eulogistic, has given us a better insight into Hearn's thought and if she makes us realize that "it is a rich and bottomless experience to read Hearn"—surely a book so well written should do both—then *Blue Ghost* is a welcome and needed addition to our interpretation of a neglected artist, whose work scarcely belongs to the Isles of Greece, neither to England, nor to America, nor to the Orient—yet it has that universal quality which makes its common appeal to them all.

*Dakota Wesleyan University.*

RAY M. LAWLESS.

THE GREAT CRUSADE AND AFTER, 1914-1928. By Preston William Slosson, Associate Professor of History, University of Michigan. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930.

Nothing in the field of American letters is more noteworthy of late than the changed attitude of scholars toward treatments of the contemporary. Not long ago in all the universities it was regarded as unscholarly to assign subjects for doctoral dissertations in areas at least not a century away. And the historian was compelled to work always in accumulated dust. But now Ph.D. theses obtrude even into the current decade for subjects, and every publishing season brings a shelf loaded with histories of the present moment. In every area the contemporary: as an age it is obsessed with contemporaneity. Even our historians now are trained journalists.

But before we as scholars condemn this tendency, let us consider this startling fact: never in the history of the world have the materials of history, even of contemporary history, been thrown up in such profusion for all to see. The great war exploded all archives and the present age of journalism published all their contents. Nothing done during the

past two decades but what has been published somewhere. Magazines and scholarly periodicals are full of studies and reports and statistics. Nothing can be mentioned but what some expert has issued a report upon it. It is the age of printed documents, and now one can write current history with as much confidence as Macaulay could write of the eras then considered ripe for research.

Thus Professor Slosson's study of the period since 1914—a mere section of yesterday, yet handled by this trained historian with such a wealth of documentation and such balance and perspective that the work becomes not, like Mark Sullivan's volumes, brilliant journalism, but a scholarly history with a seeming atmosphere of finality. A whole chapter it devotes to a study of authorities—a scholarly document of untold usefulness to future researchers—and there are, to back up even his most casual statements, a running series of references to newspaper reports, magazine articles, and contemporary biographies. Everywhere the impression that the field is not a new one with hazardous values but one fully ripe for harvest.

And the book is readable, as much so at times as a historical romance. Where in the whole world's history could there be found fourteen years so packed with the sensational? Note some of his chapter titles: "America between Peace and War," "America in War Times," "Shadows of the Reconstruction," "The Experiment of Prohibition," "The American Woman Wins Equality," "The Business of Sport," "The Saga of the Motor Car," and so on and on. Seemingly he has omitted nothing. A scholarly historian it is who is writing and yet he can devote a page to the cross-word puzzle craze, two pages to "jazz," and nearly a whole chapter to the "tin Lizzie." And always is he detached: one will seek in vain for his personal opinion of prohibition, or of Coolidge, or of the relative merits of California and Florida as winter resorts. It is a historian who is writing, not a journalist.

A good book, the best history of the period yet written concerning the American phase of the "Great Crusade and After," a volume to read and yet to keep at hand for ready reference.

*Rollins College.*

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

THE SCHOOL IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Richard Allen Foster. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc. 1930. \$2.60.

Whether or not one subscribes to the view of a contemporary historian that William H. McGuffey "did more to influence the general literary tastes and standards of the [mid-nineteenth century] period than the soft

effulgent rays of the entire Cambridge-Concord constellation," one can hardly overlook the importance given to the school in our literature. In this little book, a Teachers College dissertation but delightfully free from the jargon of educationists, the prominence given to school stories in America is attributed to the general tendency of the people to idealize education.

Very rarely in America have bitter thrusts been made at education, and these have been made in recent years. The old FARMER'S ALMANAC satirized the incompetent teacher, as did Irving, Daniel Pierce Thompson, Richard Malcolm Johnston, and William Hawley Smith. Trumbull laughs at the "Progress of Dulness" in an effort to be witty; but the school as an institution has seldom been struck. The English idea, *that people can be educated above their station*, has been late in coming to America. Only since the recent advances in psychology, does it seem that the question of limiting educational opportunity has been raised. The number of Henry Adamses who have seen only futility in all education is not large.

Historically most of our literature treating the school has depicted the district schoolmaster; there is scant mention in this book of the recent flood of college stories. The schoolmaster in love furnished Irving material for an enduring character. Perhaps "the truest and most vivid picture of the colonial schoolmaster" appeared in Sylvester Judd's *Margaret* (1845). In *Locke Amsden* (1847), by D. P. Thompson, "the old district school and its master got their fullest literary presentation." The popularity of Dickens no doubt helped to focus this interest on the schoolmaster, who flourished in juvenile fiction and localized romance. The influence of *Tom Brown's School Days* was reflected in Holland's *Arthur Bonnicastle* (1873). A more pronounced native strain appeared in the tales of James Hall, Maurice Thompson, Joseph Kirkland, and notably in Eggleston's *Hosier Schoolmaster* (1871) and Johnston's *Dukesborough Tales* (1871).

It is apparent that the school has thus far suffered from caricature. In recent years the advance of realism has obliged writers to give up stock figures and situations. There is manifest a growing interest in childhood and youth, as anyone may learn by looking into *Emmy Lou* and the tales of Owen Johnson or Arthur Stanwood Pier.

"If literature as an art has not gone far in depicting the schoolmaster's life," concludes the author, "and if his needs do not yet furnish the most interesting material for the literary artist in America, these themes have at least been persistent in fiction to the present day." This book is well-informed and readable. Some mention, however, might well have been made of the experience of American authors as teachers, the educational views expressed in their books, and whether these followed or ignored the ideas of the educationists of their day.

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ERNEST E. LEISY.

# HOWELLS AND THE CONTROVERSY OVER REALISM IN AMERICAN FICTION

HERBERT EDWARDS

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## I

WHEN William Dean Howells took charge of the "Editor's Study" of *Harper's Magazine* in 1885, he began more vigorously than ever to champion the cause of realism in American fiction. There can be little doubt that at this time Howells occupied a most influential position in American letters. For nine years, from 1872 to 1881, he had been editor-in-chief of *The Atlantic Monthly*. He had just published *The Rise of Silas Lapham*; he was already the author of ten books, and among them were *A Foregone Conclusion* and *A Modern Instance*, two of the most popular novels he ever wrote. It must not be supposed, however, that the respect with which he was regarded by the American critics and public ever partook of the nature of reverence or veneration. *The Nation* had not hesitated to state in regard to his work: "One feels the lack of something that is indispensable in the equipment of a novelist of the highest order—a lack of romantic imagination,"<sup>1</sup> and *The Critic* had declared in a review of *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, "It is a book which has been enjoyed, but not one that will be remembered."<sup>2</sup>

Howells never tried to conciliate a critic who wanted "a romantic imagination" in fiction. Indeed, he seemed entirely indifferent to the regard of critics and public. In June, 1887, in the "Editor's Study," he severely arraigned American critics for bad manners, bad principles, and ignorance.<sup>3</sup> His vigorous and ironical manner is illustrated in his comment upon the popular romantic novelist of the day:

The kind of novels he likes, and likes to write, are intended to take his reader's mind, or what that reader would probably call his mind, off himself; they make one forget life and all its cares and duties; they are not in the least like the novels which make you think of these, and shame

<sup>1</sup> *The Nation*, XXXI, 50 (July, 1880).

<sup>2</sup> *The Critic*, VII, 122 (September 12, 1885).

<sup>3</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXV, 155-158 (June, 1887).



you into at least wishing to be a helpfuler and wholesomer creature than you are. No sordid details of verity here, if you please; no wretched being humbly and weakly struggling to do right and to be true, suffering for his follies and his sins, tasting joy only through the mortification of self, and in the help of others; nothing of all this, but instead a great, whirling splendor of peril and achievement, a wild scene of heroic adventure . . . with a stage "picture" at the fall of the curtain, and all the good characters in a row, their left hands pressed upon their hearts, and kissing their right hands to the audience in the good old way that has always charmed and always will, Heaven bless it!<sup>4</sup>

He criticized fiction which merely amuses, in the following manner:

Once more we say these amusements have their place, as the circus has, and the burlesque, and negro minstrelsy, and the ballet, and prestidigitation. No one of these is to be despised in its place; but we had better understand that it is not the highest place, and that it is hardly an intellectual delight.<sup>5</sup>

It was inevitable that such criticism should provoke rejoinders in an America which, to a large extent, still preferred the ideal to the real in fiction, which "loved and worshipped sweetness, but not light." Agnes Repplier replied in *The Atlantic Monthly* by quoting Rochefoucauld to the effect that "he who lives without folly is hardly so wise as he thinks." She said: "We read the *Bostonians* and *The Rise of Silas Lapham* with a due appreciation of their minute perfections, but we go to bed quite cheerfully at our usual hour, and are content to wait an interval of leisure to resume them."<sup>6</sup> It was perhaps natural that a sharper note in the criticism of Howells's work should begin to be distinguished. When *April Hopes* appeared in 1887, it was criticized by *The Dial* for lack of human interest of any attractive sort, and for characters "distinguished above their earlier prototypes for vulgarity both of thought and expression."<sup>7</sup> *The Nation* said of the same novel:

*April Hopes* is, in a conventional moral sense, above reproach; but its tendency to blight germs of spirituality is hardly less harmful to character than is the corrupting influence of novels which describe the base

<sup>4</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXV, 318 (July, 1887).

<sup>5</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXV, 638 (September, 1887).

<sup>6</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly*, LX, 75 (July, 1887).

<sup>7</sup> *The Dial*, VIII, 267-268 (March, 1888).

or vicious sides of life. No one is the better for its trivial worldly wisdom, while the young and impressionable are apt to be the worse.<sup>8</sup>

In the "Editor's Study" for July, 1888, Howells spoke for democracy in literature, for the exaltation of the common, the average: "Such beauty and such grandeur as we have is common beauty, common grandeur. . . . The talent which is robust enough to front the everyday world and catch the charm of its work-worn, care-worn, brave, kindly face, need not fear the encounter, though it seems terrible to the sort nurtured in the superstition of the romantic, the bizarre, the heroic, the distinguished, as the thing alone worthy of painting or carving or writing."<sup>9</sup> Howells also declared that the true artist found nothing in life insignificant, that everything was important for destiny and character, that nothing God had made was contemptible, and so the true artist could not look upon human life and declare this or that thing unworthy of notice, any more than the scientist could declare a fact of the material world beneath the dignity of his inquiry. James Lane Allen, chief among the Southern romantic novelists of the day, attempted to reduce Howells's contentions to the absurd in an article, "Caterpillar Criticisms," in *The Forum*: "If Mr. Howells is measured for a coat, which proves a misfit, does he still enjoy wearing it, as an expression of actuality in the tailor's thought and feeling? Does he calmly eat a badly-cooked breakfast as one of the works of nature—the cook's nature—God having made the cook?"<sup>10</sup> A literary critic of the time, Maurice Thompson, maintained that Howells had said that "mediocrity is all of human life that is interesting—that a mild sort of vulgarity is the one living truth in the character of men and women." Thompson then proceeded to condemn all realists; they dealt only with the faults of human character, "instead of attempting to imagine noble instances of human self-sacrifice, of lofty aspiration and of soul-stirring passion." He further declared that "All this worship of the vulgar, the commonplace and the insignificant . . . is the last stage of vulgarity, hopelessness and decadence."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *The Nation*, XLVI, 142 (February 16, 1888).

<sup>9</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXVII, 317-318 (July, 1888).

<sup>10</sup> *The Forum*, IV, 332-341 (November, 1887).

<sup>11</sup> Published in *The Chicago Sunday Times*; quoted by *The Literary World*, XVIII, 281 (September 3, 1887).

The appearance of *Annie Kilburn* (1888) was the occasion of much unfavorable criticism of Howells. *The Nation* found it "unprofitable,"<sup>12</sup> *The Critic* "wearisome,"<sup>13</sup> and *The Literary World* said: "Howells's new books we find ourselves opening less and less with a feeling of zest, and more and more from a sense of duty. . . . We are beginning to find him tiresome. The market is falling, and *Annie Kilburn* does not arrest the decline."<sup>14</sup> But if *The Critic* found Howells's novel "wearisome," it could unhesitatingly recommend *Greifenstein*, by F. Marion Crawford, as "a very vigorous and poetic protest against the Howells school of novelists. . . . This is realism of a very poetic sort, such as one likes better than the Lap-hams."<sup>15</sup> Crawford's unreal melodrama was considered superior to the work of both Howells and James by this periodical. It is not unlikely that Howells had in mind just such shallow judgments when he wrote in *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1889:

When you have portrayed "passion" instead of feeling, and used "power" instead of common sense, and shown yourself a "genius" instead of an artist, the applause is so prompt and the glory so cheap that really anything else seems wickedly wasteful of one's time. One may not make the reader enjoy or suffer nobly, but one may give him the kind of pleasure that arises from conjuring, or from a puppet show, or a modern stage play, and leave him, if he is an old fool, in the sort of stupor that comes from hitting the pipe; or if he is a young fool, half-crazed with the spectacle of qualities and impulses like his own in an apotheosis of achievement and fruition far beyond earthly experience.<sup>16</sup>

Each month in the years between 1885 and 1892 the "Editor's Study" of *Harper's Magazine* was certain to contain exposition and defense of realism. In July, 1890, Howells explained that "the realistic novel depended for its effect upon the faithful, almost photographic delineation of actual life, with its motives, impulses, springs of action laid bare to the eye, but with no unnatural straining after the intenser and coarser emotions of blood and fire, no intentional effort to drag in murder, crime, or fierce interludes of passion with-

<sup>12</sup> *The Nation*, XLVIII, 165-166 (February 21, 1889).

<sup>13</sup> *The Critic*, XI, 63 (February 9, 1889).

<sup>14</sup> *The Literary World*, XX, 35 (February 2, 1889).

<sup>15</sup> *The Critic*, XII, 213 (November 2, 1889).

<sup>16</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXIX, 965 (November, 1889).

out adequate reason." He satirized the American imitators of English romanticism in fiction:

We have in America our imitators of that romance and that criticism: poor provincials who actually object to meeting certain people in literature because they do not meet such people in society! It is mostly these Little Peddlingtonians, trying so hard to be little Londoners, who do the crying out for the "ideal" among us: for the thing that they think ought to be, rather than the thing that is, as if they, peradventure, knew what ought to be better than God who made what is!<sup>17</sup>

In September of the same year he ridiculed the reader who "must have the problem of a novel solved for him by a marriage or a murder, who must be spoon-victualled with a moral minced small and then thinned with milk and water, and familiarly flavored with sentimentality or religiosity."<sup>18</sup>

## II

In 1892 Howells published his volume of essays entitled *Criticism and Fiction*, in which he reiterated the critical doctrine he had been advocating in the pages of *Harper's Magazine* for the last few years. But he extended his criticism to include many of the "classics," and this portion of the book drew down upon his head the renewed ire of the critics. He stated, in part:

What is unpretentious and what is true is always beautiful and good, and nothing else is so; no author is an authority except in those moments when he holds his ear close to Nature's lips and catches her very accent; these moments were not continuous with any authors in the past, and they are rare with all; therefore the so-called greatest classics are sometimes not at all great, and we can profit by them only when we hold them, like our meanest contemporaries, to a strict accounting, and verify their work by the standard of the arts we all have in our power—the simple, the natural, and the honest.

*The Nation* had said of the ideas set forth in the volume:

The excitement, such as it was, of seeing an author of position jeering at his predecessors, pitying Scott, depreciating Thackeray, and in general working himself up into a state of mind whenever the poor "classics" on their comfortable upper shelves came into his thoughts, was amusing for

<sup>17</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXXI, 317 (July, 1890).

<sup>18</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXXI, 639-640 (September, 1890).

a while, but now it is an old story. There are two leading ideas in the work: first, that the critics are sorry fellows; second, that the art of fiction is finer than it ever was before—that is, provided it is practiced in Mr. Howells's way.<sup>19</sup>

*The Literary World* condemned the book for egotism, whimsicality, and lofty patronage of great authors whose places had long been secure in literature. It denied Howells's contention that "the whole belief in genius . . . if not mischievous always . . . is still a superstition." It quoted a bit of ridicule by James M. Barrie, in which an American realistic novelist speaks as follows: "I have written three volumes about a lady and a gentleman who met on a car. . . . Nothing happened. That is the point of the story. . . . To us it is hard work to put all we have to say about a lady and gentleman who agree not to become engaged in three volumes." The parting shot of the periodical in regard to Howells was: "Many of his dicta are as entertaining and instructive as the judgments of a Pawnee brave in the galleries of the Louvre would be."<sup>20</sup> Not all of the criticism which the book aroused was as intemperate as this, however. *The Atlantic Monthly*, after criticizing Howells for his depreciation of the past, and his "intemperate zeal" in the advocacy of his theory, said: "We are more disposed to think that what is technically known as realism is a phase of literature which corresponds with much that is contemporary in science and religion, but that so far from being the final word in literature, it will simply make its contribution to art and give place to purer idealism."<sup>21</sup> *The Dial* was equally moderate.<sup>22</sup>

A defense of Howells appeared in *The New England Magazine* for December, 1893; Celia Parker Wooley was the defender. She declared:

This criticism [of Howells] is often honest, and to a degree intelligent, but much of it is undiscerning, flippant, and coarse. Its source lies in the suspicion and dislike of those principles of realism in art, felt by the average critic of the day, and of which Mr. Howells is the leading exponent in this country.

<sup>19</sup> *The Nation*, LIII, 73 (July 23, 1891).

<sup>20</sup> *The Literary World*, XXII, 208 (June 20, 1891).

<sup>21</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXVIII, 566-569 (October, 1891).

<sup>22</sup> *The Dial*, XII, 144 (September, 1891).

He had been criticized, said Miss Wooley, by moralists and romanticists who said that his writings had no worthy motive, that they were essentially superficial and commonplace, that there was nothing heroic or startling in them. These romanticists complained that nothing ever happened in his novels. "But," said Miss Wooley, "what ever happens in the lives of the majority of the men and women we see around us? We no longer live in the days of tournaments and knightly emprise; but life was never of such intense human interest as it is today." And Howells has sympathy and humanitarian purpose: "His sympathy with all kinds and classes of people is as broad, if not as fervent, as that of the author of *Adam Bede*. Through all the sadness and suffering, the human spirit shows and triumphs over all." But Miss Wooley was an exception among the critics; by far the greater number of them held to the romantic, idealistic point of view which characterized the period.

The reading public's fondness for romance was reflected in a communication from a reader which appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* about this time. The reader expressed dislike of the melancholy of modern realistic novels and entered a plea for a more cheerful note, frankly as an anodyne against life. He said:

As another example of this school of fiction writing whose aim is to depict life as it is, take *The House by the Medlar Tree*. It is too unhappily true to life to be tolerable reading for anyone past youth who knows what trouble is, who does not need and does not wish to have the woe of life thrust upon his notice and pressed down into his soul more than it already and inevitably is. For my own part, I think that a preface by Mr. Howells, recommending a book for its realism, will hereafter be enough to guard me against it. Some may agree with him and prize such novels as masterpieces of modern art, but is the depression they produce a wholesome effect to receive from a work of art? To read such books is gratuitously to weaken one's vitality, which the mere fact of living does for most of us in such measure that what we need is tonic treatment, and views of life that tend to hopefulness, not gloom.<sup>23</sup>

One of the prominent novelists and critics of the day, Amelia E. Barr, deprecated the type of "heroine" that was found in the realistic novel:

<sup>23</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXIX, 716-717 (May, 1892).

She is not a nice girl. She talks too much, and talks in a slangy, jerky way that is odiously vulgar. She is frank, too frank, on every subject and occasion. She is contemptuous of authority, even of parental authority, and behaves in a high-handed way about her love affairs. She is alas! something of a freethinker. She rides a bicycle, and plays tennis, and rows a boat. She laughs loudly, and dresses in manly fashion, and acts altogether in accord with an epoch that travels its sixty miles an hour. She is very smart and clever, but in her better moments she makes us sigh for the girls who thought their parents infallible and who were reverent churchwomen—the girls who were so shrinkingly modest, and yet so brave in emergencies—the girls who were so fully accomplished, and so beautiful, and who yet had no higher ambition than to be the dearly-loved wife of a noble-hearted man and the good house-mother of happy children.<sup>24</sup>

What the American people liked to read in 1893 was revealed by Hamilton W. Mabie in an article entitled "The Most Popular Novels in America," which was published in *The Forum* for December, 1893. *David Copperfield*, *Ivanhoe*, *The Scarlet Letter*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *Ben Hur* headed the list, while *The Rise of Silas Lapham* trailed near the end. General Lew Wallace's grandiose, rococo romance, *The Prince of India*, had just appeared and was being received with a popular enthusiasm almost equal to that which *Ben Hur* had aroused. *The Literary World* commented upon the popularity of the novel as follows:

His works seem to suit the average American temper; they are full of movement and are written in a smooth, harmonious style, while their themes are concerned with religion and ecclesiastical history. Perhaps there is a vague survival of the Puritan spirit in the modern citizens of the United States which likes to have its pleasures rendered serious by the conveying of useful information and by the baptism of a pious purpose.<sup>25</sup>

Protests against the realistic novel had continually appeared in most of the leading periodicals for the past ten years. In 1883 Charles Dudley Warner had declared in *The Atlantic Monthly* that the aim of the novel should be "to lighten the burdens of life by taking us for a time out of our humdrum and perhaps sordid

<sup>24</sup> *The North American Review*, CLIX, 592 (November, 1894).

<sup>25</sup> *The Literary World*, XXIV, 283 (September 9, 1893).

conditions, so that we can see familiar life somewhat idealised," and had criticized realism because it did not give "hope and cheer."<sup>26</sup> *The Dial* and *The Critic* had declared that the world was bored with realism, and the latter had defended "happy endings" as "healthful and sane" and had declared that "a taste for disappointing conclusions is an artificial one, acquired at the expense of much that is necessary to perfect moral sanity . . . people who marry and live happily ever after are the very salt of the earth, and it is good to know them; it is good to find them at the close of a fiction. They are real people."<sup>27</sup> When George Du Maurier's *Trilby* ushered in a "revival of romanticism" in 1894, it was almost joyfully received by most of the leading critics and periodicals. *The Atlantic Monthly* said: "That the grace, the bonhomie, of the book will appeal to another generation depends, we think, on how far another generation will be as tired as ours is of fiction which wrestles with all the problems of life."<sup>28</sup> *The Literary World* stated that "the world is tired of Kodak pictures of the dreary commonplaces of life,"<sup>29</sup> and *The Dial* eagerly welcomed "a man who has viewed life with tenderness and a sane outlook."<sup>30</sup>

### III

William Dean Howells resolutely opposed all such opinions. Henry James, Hamlin Garland, Stephen Crane, and Frank Norris he defended vigorously, together with many minor realists long since forgotten, such as Mrs. Lillie C. Wyman and Harold Frederic. Of Mrs. Wyman's *Poverty Grass* he said, after commending its truth of life: "It is surely not a book for those who would like fiction to make out that life is a pretty play or an amusing game, and would have all sorrows end well, that their sensibilities may be tickled and pampered."<sup>31</sup> In the "Editor's Study" for October, 1890, Howells declared what a pity it was that people preferred Rider Haggard and Kipling when "such important and artistic books" as Frederic's were within their reach.<sup>32</sup> Not only such distinctly minor realists

<sup>26</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly*, LI, 464-474 (April, 1883).

<sup>27</sup> *The Dial*, VI, 121 (September, 1885).

*The Critic*, VI, 21 (July 10, 1886).

<sup>28</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXXV, 269-270 (February, 1895).

<sup>29</sup> *The Literary World*, XXV, 299 (September 22, 1894).

<sup>30</sup> *The Dial*, XVII, 264 (November 1, 1894).

<sup>31</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXIV, 483 (February, 1887).

<sup>32</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXXI, 801 (October, 1890).



as Frederic did Howells aid, but such men as Henry James he found himself under the necessity of defending from the attacks of the critics. In the October, 1888, number of *Harper's Magazine*, he said of James: "It will certainly amaze a future day that such things as his could be done in ours and meet only a feeble and conditional acceptance from the 'best' criticism, with something little short of ribald insult from the common cry of literary paragraphers."<sup>33</sup> James was condemned by most of the critics for lack of "pathos and power,"<sup>34</sup> lack of "passion and emotion,"<sup>35</sup> for "immorality,"<sup>36</sup> "lack of interest,"<sup>37</sup> for "subtlety and circumlocution."<sup>38</sup>

In Hamlin Garland's recent book *Roadside Meetings* (1930), he describes the inspiration he, as a young and struggling author, received from Howells. In 1890 he published a defense of Howells in which the realism of the master was praised as "as much the product of the times as the electric car."<sup>39</sup> Immediately upon the appearance of Garland's *Main Travelled Roads* in 1891, Howells wrote in the pages of the "Editor's Study":

The type caught in Mr. Garland's book is not pretty; it is ugly and often ridiculous; but it is heart-breaking in its rude despair . . . he has the fine courage to leave a fact with the reader unvarnished and un-garnished, which is almost the rarest trait in an Anglo-Saxon writer, so infantile and feeble is the custom of our art.

The volume was received by the critics with mingled praise and blame, Howells anticipating the tenor of the latter when he said of Garland: "He has a certain harshness and bluntness, an indifference to the more delicate charms of style, and he has still to learn that though the thistle is full of an unrecognized poetry, the rose has a poetry, too, that even over-praise cannot spoil." If these kindly words are compared with the much harsher criticism of such a magazine as *The Atlantic Monthly*, it can be readily perceived how really encouraging Howells must have been to the struggling and sensitive young author. *The Atlantic Monthly* said of *Main Trav-*

<sup>33</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXVII, 800 (October, 1888).

<sup>34</sup> *The Literary World*, XXI, 232 (July 19, 1890).

<sup>35</sup> *The Nation*, LVII, 417 (November 30, 1893).

<sup>36</sup> *The Literary World*, XXVIII, 454 (December 11, 1897).

<sup>37</sup> *The Dial*, XXII, 311 (May 16, 1897).

<sup>38</sup> *The Nation*, LXXV, 330 (October 23, 1902).

<sup>39</sup> *The New England Magazine*, II, 243 (May, 1890).

*elled Roads*: "It is partly his lack of training, partly his scorn of refinements, which make the sturdy, homespun style, generally so effective, always rough, and often perversely incorrect. The same reasons may serve to account for the sometimes unnecessarily frank, sometimes even brutal realism."<sup>40</sup>

The active interest Howells took in Stephen Crane was typical of his efforts in behalf of most of the young realistic writers of the day. Crane was an obscure young journalist when Garland discovered him and introduced him to Howells. Howells took the young author under his wing, and in turn introduced him to literary friends likely to encourage his aspirations.<sup>41</sup> At this time Crane had written his first novel, *Maggie, a Girl of the Streets*, but unable to find a publisher, had printed 1100 paperbacked copies at his own expense. In a year's time he had disposed of exactly one hundred of these (including gift copies). None of the book shops, except Brentano's, would take any of the books for sale, and Brentano's returned ten of the twelve copies it had taken. Howells now endeavored to find a publisher for the book, wrote a laudatory introduction for it, and went from publisher to publisher, but none of them had the courage to allow his name to appear upon the title page. It was not until after the success of *The Red Badge of Courage* in 1896 that a publisher was found. Late in life, in 1913, Howells said of his experiences in trying to secure a publisher for *Maggie*: "To this hour I cannot understand the attitude of the publishers. I saw several of them personally and tried to interest Mr. Brentano. . . . I shall never understand what was found offensive in the little tragedy."<sup>42</sup>

When Crane departed from what Howells believed a sincere endeavor to portray the facts of life, Howells was as quick to condemn as he had been to praise. *The Red Badge of Courage* was a great popular success, and was highly praised by the critics for its "power," "color," and "rich profusion of metaphor and simile,"<sup>43</sup> but

<sup>40</sup> *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVI, 840 (December, 1895).

<sup>41</sup> *The Bookman*, I, 229-230 (May, 1895), contains an interesting account of the discovery of Crane.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted by Beers in his life of Stephen Crane, p. 96.

<sup>43</sup> See *The Critic*, XXIV, 363 (November 30, 1895); *The Dial*, XX, 80, (February 1, 1896); *The Literary World*, XXVII, 120 (April 1, 1896); *The Bookman*, V, 436 (July, 1897).

William Dean Howells was disappointed. He called it a failure in spite of its popular success, and declared that the author had "lost himself in a whirl of wild guesses at the facts, from the ground of insufficient witness."<sup>44</sup> In his criticism Howells always exalted principle above personal friendship and an inherent kindliness.

Another young realistic novelist whom Howells befriended was Frank Norris. Howells was among the first who found a "new thrill" in *McTeague*, and was probably the first to say so in print. Howells was largely instrumental in bringing Norris into public notice, although he had never had an opportunity of meeting him personally. It was Howells's favorable notice of Norris which had brought the young author to the attention of McClure, the publisher, and which thus paved the way for Norris's later fame. When Norris died suddenly in 1902, Howells wrote the first essay of appreciation which appeared after his death. In this essay Howells declared that Norris had not been sufficiently appreciated in America, and he referred bitterly to the rococo romances to which the public had given precedence.<sup>45</sup> But Howells was shortly to see a realistic novel attain popularity, both with the critics and the reading public. Norris's *The Pit* enjoyed a posthumous popularity. In March, 1903, it stood first in the list of best sellers in the United States; and as late as May, 1904, there were more library calls for it than for any other work of recent fiction.

Thus the venerable champion of realism saw at least a measure of success crown his efforts of the last two decades—at last a realistic novel was popular in America. Certainly it can be safely said that the appetite for actualities which has been the most distinctive characteristic of the American reading public in the twentieth century, was to a certain extent, at least, the result of the long battle waged for realism in American fiction by William Dean Howells.

<sup>44</sup> *The North American Review*, CLXXV, 770 (October, 1902).

<sup>45</sup> *The North American Review*, CLXXV, 769 (October, 1902).

# JAMES K. PAULDING'S *LION OF THE WEST*

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JAMES K. Paulding's play *The Lion of the West* is of especial interest to students of the American theater as the first drama to introduce a raw and uncouth frontiersman as its leading character. The text has unfortunately been lost; neither William I. Paulding,<sup>1</sup> the dramatist's son; nor Amos Herold,<sup>2</sup> Paulding's recent biographer, was able to recover the drama. What we know of the play is derived from William Paulding's comments, from press notices of various performances, and from two synopses which appeared while it was enjoying its greatest popularity. An outline of Paulding's original version of the drama, which has never before been reprinted, appears at the close of this article.

## I

Early in 1830 James H. Hackett, the celebrated comedian, offered a prize of three hundred dollars for "an original comedy [in three acts] whereof an American should be the leading character."<sup>3</sup> The judges, who included William Cullen Bryant and Fitz-Greene Halleck, finally selected as the prize comedy Paulding's *The Lion of the West; or a Trip to Washington*.<sup>4</sup> Paulding, who represented in early Knickerbocker literature a strong American bias,<sup>5</sup> intended, in writing the play, to encourage an interest in the national scene and character as subject matter for the American drama. *The New York Mirror*, in announcing the award, commented on Paulding's reputation as an author, and his "noble ambition to second the efforts of our indigenous comedian in laying the foundation for a

<sup>1</sup> *The Literary Life of James K. Paulding* (New York, 1867).

<sup>2</sup> James Kirke Paulding, *Versatile American* (New York, 1926).

<sup>3</sup> William Paulding, *Literary Life of James K. Paulding*, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> See *The New York Evening Post* and *The Morning Courier and the New York Enquirer*, November 29, 1830; and *The New York Mirror*, VIII, 175 (December 4, 1830).

<sup>5</sup> Among the early works of Paulding which exhibit his Americanism are *The Backwoodsman*, a narrative poem (1818); *John Bull in America; or the New Munchausen*, a satire (1825); and *Westward Ho!* a novel (1832). The scene of the last-named work is laid first in Virginia, and later in Kentucky. For "A Study of James K. Paulding's *Westward Ho!*" by the present writer, see *The American Collector*, III, 221-229 (March, 1927).

national drama."<sup>6</sup> There is evidence for the belief that *The Lion of the West* "was originally intended for the closet only." But as time went on, Paulding, no doubt at the advice of friends, determined to submit his play for the Hackett prize; and with this in mind he altered and rearranged the various parts to make the drama suitable for the stage.<sup>7</sup>

The plot of *The Lion of the West*, though entirely conventional in outline,<sup>8</sup> revolved about the unique Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, who was described in the announcements of the award as "a member of Congress from Kentucky, full of amusing eccentricity of character and peculiarity of expression."<sup>9</sup> Of Paulding's conception of the Colonel little was, of course, actually known; but enough was inferred regarding his character from these brief press notices to set the public astir with fanciful speculations. Indeed, no character could have been more calculated to meet the approval of an Eastern audience in the early thirties. Tall stories of Western life so frequently found their way into print that at least one New York paper of the period declared that "the West, 'the glorious West,' teems so richly with mammoth productions, that we have for some time been indifferent to the wonders she daily pours fourth [*sic*] from her bosom."<sup>10</sup> But Nimrod Wildfire was likely to prove a character to whom no one could be indifferent—especially if the Colonel's prototype could only be found. At last an ingenious scandal-monger hit upon David Crockett, then a member of the House of Representatives. Crockett was not an unlikely guess. The illiterate uncouthness of this Congressman from Tennessee was well known; and besides, since his term as Representative was about to expire, his "fitness for a seat in Congress"<sup>11</sup> was soon to be a subject of discussion. But this rumor that Colonel Wildfire was a take-off on Davy Crockett was promptly denied by at least some of the newspapers. "We beg as a particular favor of Mr. Crockett," wrote one paper, "to rest perfectly easy—there is nothing in that comedy that

<sup>6</sup> VIII, 175 (December 4, 1830).

<sup>7</sup> *The Morning Courier and the New York Enquirer*, April 19, 1831.

<sup>8</sup> See synopsis of the plot at the close of this article.

<sup>9</sup> *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, November 29, 1830.

<sup>10</sup> *The New York American for the Country*, March 18, 1831.

<sup>11</sup> *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, June 3, 1831.

will shock his *naive egoisme*."<sup>12</sup> The *Mirror* three days later, at the request of Paulding, further denied the charge, stating explicitly that the design of the drama was "to embody certain peculiar characteristics of the west in one single person, who should thus represent, not an individual, but the species."<sup>13</sup> But Paulding was not satisfied with these public denials, and wrote personally to Crockett assuring him that the current rumor was false. Here is Crockett's gracious reply:

Washington City, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1830.

Sir your letter of the 15 Inst was handed to me this day by my friend Mr. Wilde—the newspaper publications to which you refer I have never seen; and if I had I should not have taken the reference to myself in exclusion of many who fill offices and who are as untaught as I am. I thank you however for your civility in assuring me that you had no reference to my peculiarities. The frankness of your letter induces me to say a declaration from you to that effect was not necessary to convince me that you were incapable of wounding the feelings of a stranger and unlettered man who had never injured you—your character for letters and as a gentleman is not altogether unknown to me.

I have the honour with

great respect &c—

David Crockett.<sup>14</sup>

## II

Hackett at once prepared to stage the comedy,<sup>15</sup> and it was produced for the first time on April 25 at the Park Theatre. *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, generous in its praise of the new play, asserted that "the city is at present full of western merchants—'strangers' from Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and the contiguous states. They crowded to the theatre . . . , and received with great applause the successful hits of the author and the actor."

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, December 15, 1830.

<sup>13</sup> VIII, 191 (December 18, 1830).

<sup>14</sup> W. Paulding, *Literary Life of James K. Paulding*, pp. 218-219. A few months later Crockett was defeated in the elections. *The New York Evening Post* for August 27, 1831, wrote: "David Crockett of Tennessee, a conspicuous ornament in a peculiar way, of the national House of Representatives, has lost his election, it is said, by 807 votes." Crockett was re-elected in 1833.

<sup>15</sup> *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, January 21, 1831.

The author [the same critic went on to say] has made this character an extremely racy representation of western blood, a perfect *non-pareil*—half steam-boat half alligator, &c. It possesses many original traits, which never before have appeared on the stage. . . . Occasionally, there were a few allusions and expressions that might be thought to border a little on the taste of the East, but the body and soul of Col. Wildfire was Kentuckian—ardent, generous, daring, witty, blunt, and original. . . . There is nothing in the English varieties of national character which have the least resemblance to the "Western Dasher." . . . There are materials enough in this wide country to construct a school of comedy peculiarly our own. Why not collect them? Mr. Paulding has set an example worthy of being followed up.<sup>16</sup>

Although the *Courier* found some fault with Hackett's interpretation of the Colonel's part, the *Mirror* declared him entirely successful, and observed that "he kept the house in a roar by his comical and characteristic narrations." The *Mirror*, however, complained of "the injudicious cast of the piece," which, they said, "detracted much from the effect which it would otherwise have produced."<sup>17</sup>

Although the first performance met with reasonable success, and the piece was given again a week later before a full house,<sup>18</sup> Hackett was dissatisfied with the play. He probably felt that the strength of the drama lay chiefly in the character of Wildfire, but that the plot was not sufficiently diversified to meet the usual demands of the stage. In any case, Hackett determined to have the play rewritten, and to preserve only the rôle of the Colonel. *The New York Mirror*, in speaking of the new version of the play, observed that it was evident that Paulding

had given his whole attention to the principal character, which, though drawn with great force, and with a remarkable fidelity to nature, was scarcely enough by itself to sustain the piece, which, however, was sufficiently successful to warrant a belief that the public would welcome it still more cordially were the plot less simply constructed, and the Kentuckian's sphere of action somewhat enlarged. The author, having neither leisure nor inclination for the task, it was, with his full approbation, committed to Mr. Stone, (well known as the author of *Metamora*) who has arranged an entire new piece, with the exception of Colonel Wildfire.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, April 27, 1831.

<sup>17</sup> VIII, 343 (April 30, 1831).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 350 (May 7, 1831).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 83 (September 17, 1831).

This brief description of the manipulation of the play by John A. Stone<sup>20</sup> was corroborated two weeks later by an outline of the new drama which also appeared in the *Mirror*.<sup>21</sup> As has been said, an entirely new plot, more complicated than the first, and involving a new set of characters, was built up about the character of Nimrod Wildfire. To what extent Stone retained the speeches originally put into the mouth of the Colonel we have now no means of knowing. At any rate, the few specimens of the Colonel's Western dialect which are preserved in the outline suggest the truth of an Englishman's comment that "the greater part of the dialogue consisted of unintelligible idioms."<sup>22</sup> At one point in the play Nimrod declares that he is "primed for anything, from a possum hunt to a nigger funeral"; at another, that "he had'nt [*sic*] found a fight for ten days, and he felt mighty *wolfy* about the head and shoulders"; and finally, as he brings upon the stage his *fiancée*, "Miss Patty Snag of Salt Licks," that "there's no back out in her breed, for she can lick her weight in wild cats, and she shot a bear at nine years old."

The piece, thus remodeled, Hackett played in many cities of the United States. Toward the close of September it was given in Boston, and "met . . . with most complete success."<sup>23</sup> The following month Hackett played the piece at the Chesnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, "to a crowded audience, who are said to have 'received it with unusual demonstrations of satisfaction.'"<sup>24</sup> The play was now brought to New York, and on November 12 presented at the Park Theatre.<sup>25</sup> The prediction made by a local newspaper that "all the world will be in attendance"<sup>26</sup> was nearly fulfilled. The same paper declared a week later that the play had been performed on three evenings of the preceding week "to an average *exceeding nine hundred dollars*, a circumstance we believe unprecedented in

<sup>20</sup> John A. Stone (1801-1834), the actor-dramatist, who had written for Edwin Forrest the prize play *Metamora*, was obviously a person well fitted to remodel the Paulding play.

<sup>21</sup> IX, 102 (October 1, 1831). A brief summary of the play, condensed from this outline, appears in A. H. Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War* (New York, 1923), pp. 293-294.

<sup>22</sup> E. T. Coke, *A Subaltern's Furiough* (New York, 1833), I, 35.

<sup>23</sup> *The New York Evening Post*, September 28, 1831. See also *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, October 25, 1831.

<sup>24</sup> *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, November 3, 1831. The play was given on October 29th. See *Ibid.*, October 25, 1831.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, November 11, 1831.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, November 11, 1831.



the history of any comedy produced on our stage."<sup>27</sup> The New York engagement closed with a performance for the benefit of Mr. Hackett. The "deafening thunders of applause" which the play provoked on this occasion were greeted by Mr. Hackett in a speech in which he returned thanks for "the indulgence the public had uniformly extended, not only to himself in the *personation*, but to the *inexperienced* attempts of our native dramatists in drawing characters indigenous to this country."<sup>28</sup>

Some time in the early part of 1832 Hackett performed the play in the West. It appears, however, to have met with no marked success. Professor Ralph L. Rusk mentions the small number of performances that the drama enjoyed in the West;<sup>29</sup> and, indeed, there were rumors current in New York and elsewhere that Hackett had angered the Westerners with his interpretation of the Colonel. Although the *Mirror* denied these rumors,<sup>30</sup> it was confidently whispered in Philadelphia that "the effect of [Hackett's] performance in the West was such as to excite a strong feeling against him; and so incensed the 'half-horse, half-aligator [*sic*] boys,' 'the yellow flowers of the forest, as the [*sic*] call themselves, that they threatened 'to row him up Salt river,' if he ventured a repetition of the objectionable performance."<sup>31</sup>

The truth of this rumor is suggested by the fact that Hackett soon brought the play back to the East. Lieutenant E. T. Coke of the English army has left a description of a performance which he attended in June at the Arch Street Theatre of Philadelphia. He asserts that the play, which was "intended to censure and correct the rough manners of the States west of the Alleghany mountains," "delighted the audience exceedingly"; but he was sorry "to see rather a bad feeling displayed towards the old country. In various parts of the performance frequent allusions were made to circumstances which ought long to have been buried in oblivion; and which could only tend to diminish, or rather prevent, mutual good-will. These allusions, which ever told against the English, were much applauded by the audience."<sup>32</sup> Hackett was again in New York

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, November 21, 1831.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, November 24, 1831.

<sup>29</sup> *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 420.

<sup>30</sup> IX, 395 (June 16, 1832).

<sup>31</sup> E. T. Coke, *A Subaltern's Furlough*, I, 35.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 35.

with the play the middle of June,<sup>33</sup> and the following October he performed the piece as part of his farewell benefit before leaving for England.<sup>34</sup>

### III

The play now underwent a second manipulation at the hands of the English dramatist, Bayle Bernard. *A Kentuckian's Trip to New York in 1815*, a new title of the comedy, "was produced," says Hackett, "at Covent Garden theatre, London, April 1833, made a hit, had a run of several weeks there and of about six weeks more thereafter at the Haymarket theatre."<sup>35</sup> No text or synopsis of the new version of the play has come to light; but if we are to judge from the notice taken of the first performance in *The London Times*,<sup>36</sup> the comedy as a whole was decidedly weak.

It would have been practicable, without any great effort of ingenuity, [wrote the *Times* critic] to have made the Kentuckian sustain a part properly belonging to the drama: but here the drama is evidently written only for the purpose of bringing him on the stage, and so badly written that the actor has not the slightest support or relief from the other personages. The plot is the most meagre that can be imagined: the introduction of an English female tourist—a notion which might have been made the vehicle of much good-natured satire—is very feebly managed, and the other characters have no characters at all.

The *Times*, however, was warm in its praise of the character of Colonel Wildfire, and of Hackett's interpretation of the rôle. The same paper found it somewhat difficult, "on this side of what Colonel Wildfire calls 'the big pond,' to enter fully into the whim of such a personage; but the oddity of his dialect, and the effect of his stories, are irresistible. He describes himself as 'chock full of fun and fight,' has 'the fastest horse, the prettiest sister, the quickest rifle, and the ugliest dog in the states,' and 'can jump higher, squat lower, dive deeper, and come out drier than any fellow in the world.' His accounts of a fight with a boatman, whom he beat so much to his antagonist's delight that he promised to vote for him at the next

<sup>33</sup> *The New York Mirror*, IX, 395 (June 16, 1832).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 118 (October 13, 1832).

<sup>35</sup> W. Paulding, *Literary Life of James K. Paulding*, p. 219.

<sup>36</sup> April 11, 1833. Quoted by *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, April 13, 1833.

election, is capital, and among his rhodomontades, he says he once hit a man so hard that he disappeared altogether, and nothing was ever found of him afterwards but a large grease spot on the floor. The only things we have like it on our stage are the Irishmen as represented by Mr. Power. The Kentuckian is not a jot inferior to them in fun. . . ." The *Times* on another occasion commented thus on the character of Wildfire:

It is a pleasing one. He may be compared to an open-hearted, childish, giant, whom any one might deceive but none could daunt. His whimsical extravagance of speech arises from a mere exuberance of animal spirits; and his ignorance of the conventional restraints of society he overbalances by a heart that would scorn to do a mean or dishonest action.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the apparent weakness of the plot, the rôle of the Colonel seems to have made the play a genuine success in London.<sup>38</sup> In 1839 Hackett again took the drama to England. A performance at Brighton, however, was not well received, and *The Brighton Guardian* deplored the "marked neglect" which their townsmen had shown of Hackett's "great talent."<sup>39</sup>

Bayle Bernard's version of the drama continued for the next twenty years to be one of Hackett's most successful plays. After the London engagement of 1833, he performed the drama to a New York audience in September of the same year.<sup>40</sup> In 1858 it was played in Chicago;<sup>41</sup> and in 1862 Hackett was still acting the drama, although, as he wrote to Paulding's son, by that time "most

<sup>37</sup> As quoted by W. Paulding, *Literary Life of James K. Paulding*, p. 220.

<sup>38</sup> *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* for May 1, 1833, reprinted laudatory notices of the play from *The London Literary Gazette*, *The Athenæum*, *The National Standard*, and *Bell's Weekly Messenger*.

As evidence of Hackett's success in this play and in others acted in London in 1833, it may be noted that he was elected an honorary member of the Garrick Club—"an honor never before conferred upon a foreigner." See *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, April 19, 1833.

<sup>39</sup> See the notice of the play in *The Brighton Guardian* as reprinted in the New York *Spirit of the Times* for October 12, 1839. A clipping of this notice is preserved in "The Robinson Locke Collection of Dramatic Scrap Books" (James K. Hackett and J. H., Vol. 3) to be found in the New York Public Library.

<sup>40</sup> George Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, (New York, 1928), III, 656. Also see Professor Odell's work for performances of the play in New York during the next ten years.

<sup>41</sup> See a clipping for *The Spirit of the Times* mentioning this performance and preserved in "The Robinson Locke Collection of Dramatic Scrap Books" (James K. Hackett and J. H., Vol. 3).

of its jokes had lost their point by the changes of time place and circumstances."<sup>42</sup> By the close of the Civil War, Colonel Wildfire and his many imitations had become the *beau idéal* of the frontiersman—an ideal, which was dispelled only by the appearance in the East, a few years later, of Buffalo Bill and his real cowboys and Indians.<sup>43</sup>

#### IV

I now reprint for the benefit of students of the American drama an outline of Paulding's original version of the play.

Cecilia Bramble, only daughter of Governor Bramble, a senator, a young lady deeply smitten with admiration of distinguished foreigners, and ardently desirous of visiting Paris. Being an Heiress, the Count de Crillon, a noted swindler and imposter at that time in Washington, takes advantage of this foible, pays his addresses to her, and being contemptuously rejected by her father, at length inveigles her into an elopement, which is frustrated however by the accidental running away of the horses, and the interference of Roebuck, an ardent and sincere admirer of the young lady. The young gentleman brings her home in a swoon, and keeps her secret.

Cecilia, after a severe struggle between her duty to her father; her newly awakened doubts of the Count, who had behaved in the most cowardly manner when her life was endangered by the running away of the horses; her lurking preference of Roebuck, and her vehement desire to visit Paris, is wrought upon to consent to a second elopement the succeeding night. During the progress of these events, Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, a cousin of Cecilia arrives, and being apprised by Governor Bramble of the addresses of the Count, who he believes to be an impostor, to Cecilia, as well as the young lady's preference, offers his services to detect and expose the adventurer, if he be one, or establish his character, if he be not, by making him either fight or run away, which the Colonel considers an infallible criterion of a gentleman.

In pursuance of this plan, the Colonel seeks the Count and proffers him battle—at the same time complimenting him with divers odd names. The Count affects not to understand him, but being hard pressed, at length makes a precipitate retreat. The Colonel is then satisfied he is "playing possum."

<sup>42</sup> W. Paulding, *Literary Life of James K. Paulding*, p. 219.

<sup>43</sup> Laurence Hutton, *Curiosities of the American Stage* (New York, 1891), pp. 25-26.

There is another pretender to Cecilia, a Mr. Higgins, a candidate for a foreign mission, who having publicly pronounced the Count to be an impostor, has excited his wrath in a high degree. Having ascertained that Higgins is as great a poltroon as himself, he takes every opportunity to insult him, treads on his toes at a fancy ball given by one of the foreign ministers, and whispers in his ear, a threat to blow his brains out the first opportunity. In consequence of this, Higgins places a pair of loaded pistols at his bedside that night, which happens to be the night of the second elopement.

When all is quiet, the Count appears groping his way in the dark, through the hall of the Hotel where all the parties lodge, and seeing a light through the key-hole of Higgins' chamber, supposes it to be that of Cecilia—he accordingly taps at the door, and finally goes in. A moment after, the report of a pistol is heard followed by a cry of murder! fire!—and the appearance of Higgins, who runs out repeating the cry of murder! fire! and at length falls flat on the floor. The Count follows him hastily, stumbles over him and falls; the inmates of the hotel are alarmed, and rush forth in a great variety of costume, among the rest Cecilia [*sic*] and Pullet, her maid, in their travelling dresses, for the elopement.—These excite the attention and suspicions of Roebuck, the Governor, and the Colonel. The latter, armed with a couple of rifles, proceeds to the chamber of the Count—locks the door—proffers him his choice of weapons—and at length, forces from him a confession of his imposture, and carries him in triumph to confirm it before the young lady and her father. This he does, and is dismissed with contempt by all parties.

The Governor then expresses his regrets that his daughter should have thus rendered herself unworthy the respect of the world, or the affections of a man of honor. Cecilia [*sic*] displays a proper feeling on the occasion; and Roebuck generously defends her, at the same time renewing his addresses. Cecilia declines them for the present, and declares her intentions to do so, until she shall by her future conduct, entitle herself to the confidence of her friends, and the affections of her lover. The piece concludes with an address of the Colonel to the pit.

The piece is interspersed with occasional stories of the Colonel, characteristic of the dialect, manners, and peculiarities, real and supposed, of the people of the new states—or rather, of brave, generous, "Old Kentucky."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *The Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, April 27, 1831.

# LOWELL'S DEBT TO HORACE'S ARS POETICA

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## I

A VALUABLE though rather neglected field of inquiry is the influence of classical literary criticism on the American authors of the nineteenth century. While excellent work has been done in studying the debt of English authors to their classical forbears, with few exceptions critics make the assumption that for literary standards American writers have gone no farther back than to the works of their elder, transmarine brethren. This study of the influence of Horace's life and literary criticism on the life and works of James Russell Lowell will, it is hoped, supply information on one part of this extremely interesting investigation.<sup>1</sup> The quotations from Horace have been restricted to the *Ars Poetica* because Horace in his treatise codifies, albeit somewhat loosely, the ideas concerning literature which are also to be found in his other poems. Since Lowell has left no treatise dealing specifically with his theory of poetry and of composition generally, it has been necessary to gather hints from all his published works: essays and addresses, verse, and collected letters. These numerous remarks, scattered throughout his many works, form a fairly complete and fairly consistent expression of a theory of literary art.

Lowell's acquaintance with Horace commenced probably under the expert tutelage of William Wells, one of the foremost American classicists of his day, who prepared his young neighbor to enter Harvard;<sup>2</sup> in his second year at Harvard, according to the curriculum prescribed for sophomores that year, he was reading the Satires and Epistles of Horace. It was during this year that Lowell wrote boyishly to a friend: "I translated an ode of Horace into

<sup>1</sup> Reference is made to the Loeb edition of the *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, edited and ably translated by H. R. Fairclough (New York 1926). This translation, with few modifications, is used in my paper.

For Lowell the edition used is *The Complete Writings of James Russell Lowell*, 16 volumes (Cambridge 1904).

<sup>2</sup> H. E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell*, I, 22-24.

poetry the other day, and it was pretty good."<sup>3</sup> His published writings are evidence that he did not forget Horace; of this the dates of the following citations afford proof.

When I write prose, it is *invita Minerva* [from a letter written in 1846].<sup>4</sup>

But there was nothing wiser than Horace's ninth year—only it overwhelms us like a ninth wave [from a letter written during the Civil War].<sup>5</sup>

For years thrice three, wise Horace said,  
A poem rare let silence bind.<sup>6</sup>  
[This was written in 1868].

Many a boy has hated, and rightly hated, Homer and Horace the pedagogues and grammarians, who would have loved Homer and Horace the poets, had he been allowed to make their acquaintance [from the "Harvard Anniversary Address," delivered in 1886].<sup>7</sup>

These citations, selected from a number scattered through his extensive literary productions, show that Horace's name and words were not forgotten with the passing of Lowell's college days, but were throughout his life fresh in his memory.<sup>8</sup> It is not the least valuable evidence that his letters, which were not "gotten up" for publication, are as rich in Horatian sentiment and allusion as his more formal compositions.<sup>9</sup>

## II

We know that Lowell studied the *Ars Poetica*, for it is in form one of the Epistles. We know that mention of Horace was frequently on Lowell's pen, and never without approbation. It seems at least plausible that sentiments of Lowell that agree in substance with Horace have a Horatian origin, even though they are not always expressly ascribed to him. True, Lowell had studied critics and poets who were imbued with Horatian doctrines; but, as the

<sup>3</sup> Scudder, *op. cit.*, I, 36.

<sup>4</sup> E. E. Hale, *James Russell Lowell and his Friends*, p. 93. The Latin phrase occurs in the *Ars Poetica*, v. 385.

<sup>5</sup> Scudder, II, 43. Cf. I, 195, 260; Horace, vv. 387-8.

<sup>6</sup> "An Invitation," XII, 195.

<sup>7</sup> "Harvard Anniversary," VII, 184.

<sup>8</sup> The pedantic introductions to the "Biglow Papers" contain a dozen or more Horatian tags, among them even a pun on "simplex munditiis," *Odes*, I, 5.

<sup>9</sup> It will be noted that many of the following quotations are selected from Lowell's letters.

following passage shows, he preferred to go back of such men as Boileau and Daniel to their master:

His [Daniel's] best poem is an amplification of Horace's *Integer Vitae*, and when we compare it with the original we miss the point, the compactness, and above all the urbane tone of the original.<sup>10</sup>

Lowell, who could give to Horace the highly exaggerated praise of having been the sole original Roman poet<sup>11</sup> must have had high respect for his teachings.<sup>12</sup> That Lowell's poetical figures are seldom those employed by Horace is no argument against the Horatian source of the ideas; figures arise from the poet's personal experience, and Lowell believed that old ideas always take on a new color from a new mind. After due allowance has been made for other sources from which Lowell could have derived the same ideas, it seems plausible, in view especially of Lowell's training in Horace, that the ideas are traceable to the Latin source.

### III

Let us now turn to a more detailed consideration of the literary theories of Horace and Lowell. The first question is the age-old problem of the purpose of poetry. Is the poet teacher, or entertainer, or both? What is his purpose in writing? Horace declares that the poet must give profitable pleasure, keeping in mind which word in the phrase is subordinate. He adds a sly remark to the effect that the pleasure which the poet gives should by all means be profitable—financially—to himself. He must please gods, men—and booksellers!

Not enough is it for poems to have beauty; they must have charm, and lead the hearer's soul whither they will. . . . Poets aim either to benefit, or to amuse, or to utter words both pleasing and helpful to life. Whenever you instruct, be brief, so that what is quickly said the mind may quickly grasp, and faithfully hold. . . . The centuries of the elders [the old-fashioned] chase from the stage what is profitless; the proud Ramnes

<sup>10</sup> "Spenser," IV, 240.

<sup>11</sup> "Chaucer," II, 199.

<sup>12</sup> Norman Foerster, in his *American Criticism*, pp. 140-146, makes out Lowell to be an Aristotelian: "If it is necessary to relate to some tradition Lowell's view of the end of literature, let us . . . label him an Aristotelian." Lowell undoubtedly knew and was influenced by the *Poetics* of Aristotle, with which Horace is also generally in agreement; but Aristotle's predilection for tragedy and epic found no echo in Lowell, while Horace's lyrics did.



[the "young bloods"] disdain poems devoid of charms. He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader. That is the book to make money for the Sosii [booksellers]; this is the one to cross the sea and extend to a distant day its author's fame.<sup>13</sup>

For most of his life, Lowell wavered between the extremes of teaching and pleasing. In his youth, his Abolitionist leanings, spurred on by the young poetess his wife, made him prone to emphasize the didactic side of poetry.

No poem ever makes me respect its author which does not in some way convey a truth of philosophy.<sup>14</sup>

Later, his better poetic sense made him see that poets must please, that the æsthetic purpose is above the moral. In 1875, he could speak of two "strong narcotics, didactic bards and poppies."<sup>15</sup> Ultimately, he reached Horace's dictum, that poetry is the giving of profitable pleasure, and he could declare that "the first duty of the Muse is to be delightful."<sup>16</sup> At the same time, as his biographer informs us, "the preacher in him was always thrusting himself to the front."<sup>17</sup> Horace's defense of brevity in precept is echoed by Lowell:

The proof of poetry is, in my mind, that it reduce to the essence of a single line the vague philosophy which is floating in all men's minds, and so render it portable and useful and ready to the hand.<sup>18</sup>

Nor were Horace's shrewdly practical considerations about the salability of books lost upon his Yankee disciple.

One at least of the objects of writing is (or was) to be read, and, other things being equal, the best writers are those who make themselves most easily readable.<sup>19</sup>

Lowell, then, after some hesitation, came into substantial agreement with Horace about the purpose of poetry.

<sup>13</sup> Vv. 99-100, 333-336, 341-346. In "Spenser," IV, 289, Lowell quotes v. 343.

<sup>14</sup> Letter to C. F. Briggs, August 9, 1843, XIV, 111.

<sup>15</sup> "Origin of Didactic Poetry," XIII, 240.

<sup>16</sup> "Spenser," IV, 230. Cf. Introduction to *The Biglow Papers*, Second Series XI, 8.

<sup>17</sup> Scudder, I, 114-115.

<sup>18</sup> Letter to C. F. Briggs, August 9, 1843, XIV, 111.

<sup>19</sup> "Gray," VIII, 37. Cf. "The Life and Letters of James Gates Percival," II, 105-106.

## IV

Given, then, such a purpose in poetry, what sort of man is capable of composing it? Is he the man who, by sheer industry and mere erudition, has trained himself to utter poetic concepts in poetic words? Is he an untutored genius, caused by some faculty divine to pour forth poems? Do either of these beings exist? Or is the poet rather the result of native aptitude and talent which have been developed and defined by long and arduous discipline? On this matter Horace has no doubts:

Often it is asked whether a praiseworthy poem be due to Nature or Art. I do not see of what avail is either study, when not enriched by Nature's vein, or native wit, if untrained; so truly does each claim the other's aid, and make with it a friendly league. He who in the race-course craves to reach the longed-for goal has borne much and done much as a boy, has sweated and shivered, has kept aloof from wine and women.<sup>20</sup>

Nor does Lowell dissent:

I do not think now, as I did "two years ago," that poetry *must* be an inspiration, but am convinced that something of care, nay, even of thought, is requisite in a poem.<sup>21</sup>

I think more might have been made of me if I could have given my whole life to poetry, for it is an art as well as a gift.<sup>22</sup>

Poetry should be a continuous and controlling mood. . . .<sup>23</sup>

Of course, without the genius, all the training in the world will produce only a mechanical and lifeless result; but even if the genius is there, there is nothing too seemingly trifling to deserve its study.<sup>24</sup>

Barrett Wendell bears testimony to Lowell's scholarship:

Though Lowell was not a severe modern scholar, he by no means neglected severe learning. A pupil who inquired about the minute works which were already beginning to interpose themselves between modern literature and human beings, was apt to find that Lowell had glanced through them and knew something of their merits.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Vv. 408-414.

<sup>21</sup> Letter to G. B. Loring, August, 1839, in Scudder, I, 73.

<sup>22</sup> Letter to Mrs. S. B. Herrick, XV, 359, July 6, 1875. Cf. XV, 261; XVI, 6.

<sup>23</sup> Letter to J. B. Thayer, January 14, 1877, XVI, 6.

<sup>24</sup> "Webster," VIII, 230. Cf. "The Old English Dramatists," VIII, 191; "Swinburne's Tragedies," II, 157; "Chaucer," II, 193, 215; "To John G. Palfrey," IX, 288; "On a Portrait of Dante by Giotto," IX, 243.

<sup>25</sup> *A Literary History of America*, p. 395.

Ashley Thorndike agrees: "Lowell did not write on a subject unless he knew a great deal about it, nor did he fail to avail himself of the best that scholarship had accumulated."<sup>26</sup> W. M. Payne<sup>27</sup> conceded that Lowell had the combination of "wit and erudition" that Horace would require of the poet. Of Lowell's care in writing more will be said later.

## V

The next question concerns the way in which this poetically endowed person shall be trained. The curriculum, according to both Horace and Lowell, includes two courses: study of books and study of men. The former study is prerequisite to the latter, and no would-be poet may be exempted from it to enter at once upon the second course. Of the books to be studied, the best are those of the Greeks.

Of good writing the source and fount is wisdom. Your matter the Socratic pages can set forth. . . . For yourselves, handle the Greek models by night, handle them by day. . . . To the Greeks the Muse gave native wit, to the Greeks she gave speech in well-rounded phrase.<sup>28</sup>

With these sentiments Lowell, whether or not he was endowed with philosophical depth<sup>29</sup> to appreciate their full weight, expresses himself as thoroughly in harmony. Perhaps his most significant public utterance on this matter occurs in his "Harvard Anniversary Address":

Plato and Aristotle are not names but things. On a chart that should represent the firm earth and wavering oceans of the human mind, they would be marked as mountain-ranges, forever modifying the temperature, the currents, and the atmosphere of thought. . . . Let the Humanities be retained undiminished in their ancient right. Leave in their traditional preëminence those arts that were rightly called liberal; those studies that kindle the imagination; and through it irradiate the reason; those studies that manumitted the modern mind.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, II, 253.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 51.

<sup>28</sup> Vv. 309-310, 268-269, 323-324.

<sup>29</sup> J. J. Reilly, *James Russell Lowell as a Critic*, as reviewed in the *North American Review*, July, 1915, pp. 127-130.

<sup>30</sup> "Harvard Anniversary Address," VII, 199, 193.

It is of interest to note that two of the passages quoted above from Horace are also quoted by Lowell, the second in "Homer Wilbur's" note to the seventh of the first series of *The Biglow Papers*, and the third in the *Harvard Anniversary Address*.<sup>31</sup> Concerning himself, Lowell writes:

Milton has excited my ambition to read all the Greek and Latin classics that ever he did.<sup>32</sup>

In part, at least, this ambition was fulfilled.

I'm reading now the Grecian tragedies,  
Stern, gloomy Aeschylus, great Sophocles,  
And him of Salamis, whose works remain  
More perfect to us than the other twain;  
When I have critically read all these,  
I'll dip in cloudy Aristophanes,  
And then the Latin dramatists. . . .<sup>33</sup>

So much then for the prerequisite course upon which the nascent poet must enter.

The second part of the instruction of the poet is the practical application of the previous, theoretical course. The philosophical knowledge gained from books, and the ideal conceptions of character therein portrayed, are invaluable as criteria for making judgments; vivid, throbbing life, however, they cannot have, for they are at best imitations of actual life. He who would write must go to the same fountain whence these masters who wrote books drew their own inspiration, life itself.

I would advise one who has learned the imitative art to look to life and manners for a model, and draw thence living words.<sup>34</sup>

Lowell's words are an echo.

Books are good dry forage; we can keep alive on them; but, after all, men are the only fresh pastures.<sup>35</sup>

The time . . . found Dante, shaped him by every experience that life is capable of—rank, ease, love, study, affairs, statecraft, hope, exile, hunger,

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, VII, 199. Cf. "Shakespeare Once More," III, 251.

<sup>32</sup> Letter to W. H. Shackford, XIV, 15. Cf. "The Cathedral," XIII, 61.

<sup>33</sup> Scudder, I, 75.

<sup>34</sup> Vv. 317-318.

<sup>35</sup> Letter to Miss Norton, April 6, 1869, XV, 200.

dependance, despair—until he became endowed with a sense of the nothingness of this world's goods possible only to the rich, and a knowledge of man possible only to the poor.<sup>36</sup>

One drop of ruddy human blood puts more life into the veins of a poem than all the delusive *aurum potabile* that can be distilled out of the choicest library.<sup>37</sup>

Such study of men was easier for the son of the Roman freedman than for the reserved, aristocratic Bostonian; and yet Thorndike is able to speak of "the variety of responses which his rich personality made to the changing movements of American life."<sup>38</sup>

## VI

The budding poet has now had marked out for him the course of study which Horace and Lowell both declare to be the proper method of discipline for the poet. What lacks he yet? Is he not now a full-fledged poet? Or does he still need assistance to prepare for his poetic flights? To be sure, Horace, and with him Lowell, asserts that a poet, given matter to express, will not lack for words:

... when matter is at hand, words will not be loath to follow.<sup>39</sup>

The genius of the poet will tell him what word to use (else what use in his being a poet at all)?<sup>40</sup>

... he who is thoroughly possessed of his thought, who imaginatively conceives an idea or image, becomes master of the word that shall most amply and fitly utter it.<sup>41</sup>

These statements are not, however, made of an unpractised poet, but express rather an ideal. Both Roman and American proceed therefore to lay down clear-cut rules for the method which the poet must follow in the composition of his poems.

In the first place, the poet shall not attempt to write unless, and until, "the spirit moves him." He will do nothing *invita Minerva*—a Horatian phrase in much esteem with Lowell.

But you will say and do nothing against Minerva's will; such is your judgment, such your good sense.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> "Dante," V, 13.

<sup>37</sup> "Swinburne's Tragedies," II, 170.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 245.

<sup>39</sup> V, 311.

<sup>40</sup> "Shakespeare Once More," III, 231.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 224. Cf. 230.

<sup>42</sup> Vv. 385-386.

In a poem entitled "Invita Minerva," Lowell declares: "'T is not the singer's wish that makes the song."<sup>43</sup> And elsewhere:

. . . I have always been a very Quaker in following the light and writing only when the spirit moved.<sup>44</sup>

Now I've a notion, if a poet  
Beat up for themes, his verse will show it;  
I hunt for subjects that hunt me,  
By day or night won't let me be,  
But hang around me like a curse,  
Till they have made me into verse.<sup>45</sup>  
My heart, I cannot still it,  
Is a nest with song-birds in it. . . .<sup>46</sup>

Secondly, whatever he would write the poet should look at as a whole. This idea, which Horace had found in Aristotle's *Poetics*, he develops at some length, as does Lowell after him. The poet will select from his material only what is necessary to his theme, leaving out oftentimes interesting but unneeded episodes or scenes. He will also bear always in mind that in many cases suggestion is better than statement. In fine, he will so manipulate his material as to make all contribute to his single purpose.

Be the work what you will, let it at least be simple and a unit. . . . Near the Aemilian school, at the bottom of the row, there is a craftsman who in bronze will mold nails and imitate waving locks but is unhappy in the total result, because he cannot represent a whole figure. Now, if I wanted to write something, I should no more wish to be like him than to live with my nose turned askew, though admired for my black eyes and black hair. . . . Of order, this, if I mistake not, will be the excellence and charm, that the author of the long-promised shall say at the moment what at the moment should be said, reserving and omitting much for the present, loving this point and scorning that. . . . What Homer fears he cannot make attractive he abandons.<sup>47</sup>

On few points is Lowell more insistent than on this matter of artistic unity and consistency.

<sup>43</sup> "Invita Minerva," XII, 238.

<sup>44</sup> Letter to S. H. Gay, June 16, 1846, XIV, 160. Cf. XIV, 45; XV, 183, 335.

<sup>45</sup> "A Familiar Epistle to a Friend," IV, 283.

<sup>46</sup> "Auspex," XIII, 209.

<sup>47</sup> Vv. 23-24; 32-37; 42-45; 149-150.

The really great writer is great in the mass, and is to be tested less by his cleverness in the elaboration of parts than by that *reach* of mind which is incapable of random effort, which selects, arranges, combines, rejects, denies itself the cheap triumph of immediate effects, because it is absorbed by the controlling charm of proportion and unity.<sup>48</sup>

The poet with a real eye in his head does not give us everything, but only the *best* of everything. He selects, he combines, or else gives what is characteristic only.<sup>49</sup>

An author should consider how largely the art of writing consists in knowing what to leave in the inkstand.<sup>50</sup>

. . . it is by suggestion, not cumulation, that profound impressions are made on the imagination.<sup>51</sup>

Now it is not one thing nor another alone  
 Makes a poem, but rather the general tone,  
 The something pervading, uniting the whole,  
 The before unconceived, unconceivable soul,  
 So that just in removing this trifle or that, you  
 Take away, as it were, a chief limb of the statue;  
 Roots, bark, wood, and leaves singly perfect may be,  
 But, clapt hodge-podge together, they don't make a tree.<sup>52</sup>

The third consideration in poetic expression is that much-abused quality, originality. Even in Horace's day it had become necessary for a man who would discuss originality first to define his term. The young writer, Horace says, should for his premier effort choose some well-known theme. In so doing, he need not slavishly imitate his predecessors who have written thereon; let him but express the conception of the theme that he finds in his own mind, and he need fear no lack of originality.

More properly are you spinning into acts a song of Troy than if, for the first time, you were giving the world a theme unknown and unsung. In ground open to all you will win private rights, if you do not linger along the easy and open pathway, if you do not seek to render word for word as a slavish translator. . . . So skilfully does Homer invent, so

<sup>48</sup> "Chaucer," II, 229-230. Cf. "Shakespeare Once More," III, 253-288; "Under the Old Elm," XIII, 90; "Chapman," VIII, 273; "Gray," VIII, 6.

<sup>49</sup> "Spenser," IV, 229.

<sup>50</sup> "Milton," V, 269. Cf. "A Fable for Critics," vv., 870-873, 974-976; XII, 51, 55; "Swinburne's Tragedies," II, 160-177.

<sup>51</sup> "Shakespeare Once More," III, 262.

<sup>52</sup> "A Fable for Critics," vv., 538-545, XII, 38. Cf. "Spenser," IV, 240.

closely does he blend facts and fiction, that the middle is not discordant with the beginning, nor the end with the middle.<sup>53</sup>

From Lowell one may quote a number of similar expressions.

. . . originality consists quite as much in the power of using to purpose what it finds ready to its hand, as in that of producing what is absolutely new. Perhaps we might say that it was nothing more than the faculty of combining the separate, and therefore ineffectual, conceptions of others, and making them into living thought by the breath of its own organizing spirit.<sup>54</sup>

I never hesitate to say anything I have honestly felt, because someone may have said it before, for it will always get a new color from the new mind.<sup>55</sup>

Jocosely, though not without serious meaning, he writes:

Jes' so with poets: wut they've airly read  
Gits kind o' worked into their heart an' head,  
So 's 't they can't seem to write but jest on sheers  
With furrin countries or played-out ideers,  
Nor hev a feelin' if it doosn't smack  
O' wut some critter chose to feel 'way back.<sup>56</sup>

Lowell considers Horace the sole original poet produced by the Roman genius<sup>57</sup>—an idea which, running counter as it does to the usual belief among classicists, must give an expression of his own considered opinion, rather than a casual acceptance of current belief.

The fourth consideration is care in execution and in obtaining criticism of the poem. Horace, belonging to an age which prized the niceties of expression and was swayed by the Alexandrian love of polish, used to exercise the greatest care in the preparation of his poems. Critics of Horace have aptly compared his poems with the most carefully and artistically executed mosaic. With Lowell the attitude, on the surface at least, was somewhat different. While he

<sup>53</sup> Vv. 129-134, 149-152.

<sup>54</sup> "Lessing," IV, 105-106. Cf. "Rousseau and the Sentimentalists," IV, 177; "Walton," VIII, 111.

<sup>55</sup> Letter to C. E. Norton, October 15, 1870, XV, 266. Cf. "Gray," VIII, 46, 49.

<sup>56</sup> *The Biglow Papers*, Second Series, No. 6, 13-28, XI, 209. Cf. "The Cathedral," XIII, 50-51; letter to J. B. Thayer, December 8, 1868, XV, 181.

<sup>57</sup> "Chaucer," II, 199.



was keenly alive to the need for carefulness,<sup>58</sup> his age was hardly comparable to the age of Augustus, either in the influences brought to bear on the poet or in the encouragement which he received. On the question of care and watchfulness in seeking adequate criticism, Horace says:

Do you, O sons of Pompilius, condemn a poem which many a day and many a blot has not restrained and refined ten times over to the test of the close-cut nail. . . . If ever you do write anything, let it enter the ears of some critical Maecius, and your father's, and my own; then put your parchment in the closet and keep it back till the ninth year. What you have not published, you can destroy; the word once sent forth can never come back.<sup>59</sup>

We find Lowell in hearty and conscious agreement with Horace:

A great deal of virtue must go out of a man if he would write a good one [an ode]. . . . And it takes time . . . not so much for the birth, as for the conception and shaping of the harmonious parts.<sup>60</sup>

I have been overhauling my old manuscripts, and hope to finish some beginnings. . . . One of these will appear in the January *Atlantic*. The best parts of it have been lying in my desk these fifteen years. This would have more than satisfied Horace.<sup>61</sup>

For years thrice three, wise Horace said,  
A poem rare let silence bind.<sup>62</sup>

But, although Lowell expresses himself in words that agree with Horace, the charge has been made that he failed to live up to his creed in this respect. Critics declare him to have been an impressionist and nothing more; they concede to him a kind of intuitive taste for good poetry and a gift for the expression of flashes of insight in epigrammatic phrase; but he has been condemned as both poet and critic on the ground of lack of philosophical depth. Thus says one critic who has made an exhaustive study of his critical

<sup>58</sup> "The danger of our literature . . . seems to me to be carelessness and want of scholarly refinement." (Letter to W. D. Howells, November 2, 1865, XV, 108.)

<sup>59</sup> Vv. 291-294; 386-390.

<sup>60</sup> Letter to S. H. Gay, December 21, 1865, XV, 109. Cf. XV, 261; "Wordsworth," V, 225.

<sup>61</sup> Letter to E. C. Stedman, November 26, 1866, XV, 138. Cf. "A Library of Old Authors," II, 273.

<sup>62</sup> "An Invitation," XII, 195. Cf. "A Familiar Epistle to a Friend," XII, 281; "Hebe," IX, 183.

works.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, we have Thorndike's defense of Lowell's extensive, accurate, and up-to-date knowledge, already quoted. The same authority continues: "Not only Lowell's thoroughness and accuracy, but his very freedom from the bias of propaganda and from the desire for novelty give his criticism an enduring sanity, a sanity which is happily united with a rich and discriminating personality."<sup>64</sup> And, writing of Lowell again: "The personal essay as a literary form seems to require maturity of mind, breadth of experience and reading, a responsive humor, and intensity and discrimination in taste. These qualities Lowell brought to his essay writing."<sup>65</sup> Killis Campbell rates him above even Poe as a critic.<sup>66</sup> Haste in writing, caused often by financial stress, there certainly was, but hardly carelessness. His biographer notes that he had been known to spend a fortnight working on a book-review.<sup>67</sup> This was perhaps not characteristic of his manner of working. W. D. Howells, his associate for many years, is a competent witness of Lowell's manner of composing. He says: "Most of his lines stand as he first wrote them; he would often change them in revision, and then, in a second revision, go back to the first version."<sup>68</sup> Evidently he usually found his first thought better than the second; as he said himself: "Second thoughts are prose."<sup>69</sup> Howells also says: "He wrote his poems at a heat, and the manuscript which came to me for the magazine [*The Atlantic Monthly*] was usually the first draft, very little corrected."<sup>70</sup> This does not argue haste of composition, for Howells adds: "There were cases in which their inception [Lowell's finest poems] dated far back, even to ten or twenty years."<sup>71</sup> It seems on the basis of the evidence only fair to believe that Lowell lived up to his creed of care in composition; he habitually carried in his head the rough drafts which others set down on paper, and usually wrote down only what was a finished product.

The poet, then, should practise assiduously the labor of the file. But, no matter how meticulous he may be, he will be hardly able to escape small errors of detail. Toward such venial faults, how-

<sup>63</sup> J. J. Reilly, *op. cit.*, passim.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 253.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 254-255.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 63.

<sup>67</sup> Scudder, I, 433.

<sup>68</sup> *Literary Friends and Acquaintance*, p. 224.

<sup>69</sup> "The Cathedral," XIII, 33.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.*, 233.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 232-233.

ever, both Horace and Lowell are generous, provided the poet guard against repetition of the offense.

Yet faults there are which we can gladly pardon. . . . When the beauties in a poem are more in number, I shall not take offence at a few blots which a careless hand has let drop, or human frailty has failed to avert. What, then, is the truth? As a copying clerk is without excuse, if, however much warned, he always makes the same mistake, and a harper is laughed at who always blunders on the same string; so the poet who often defaults becomes, methinks, another Choerilus, whose one or two good lines cause laughter and surprise; and yet I also feel aggrieved whenever good Homer "nods," but when a work is long a drowsy mood may well creep over it.<sup>72</sup>

Lowell's statement, already quoted, that the really great poet is great in the mass, that he reveals himself, not here and there, but everywhere, is in line with this belief of Horace. In another place, he warns also against the danger of too great a departure from exactness: ". . . if possible, the understanding should have as few difficulties put in its way as possible."<sup>73</sup>

The several directions for writing which Horace and Lowell would impress upon the neophyte have now been passed in review. After this, one might suppose that the now carefully disciplined poet is equipped for the writing of verse. On the contrary, however, ahead of him lies the rock on which the majority of poets have nearly found shipwreck. Does he believe and feel with all his being what he would express in his poem? If not, he had better give up his theme; and, if he can write nothing that he has first sincerely felt, he had better resign his art altogether.

As men's faces smile on those who smile, so they respond to those who weep. If you would have me weep, you must first feel grief yourself; then will your misfortunes hurt; if the words you utter are ill-suited, I shall laugh or fall asleep.<sup>74</sup>

Sincerity is the one thing good, thinks Lowell also; he nearly paraphrases the words of Horace.

<sup>72</sup> Vv. 347; 351-360.

<sup>73</sup> "Webster," VIII, 233. Cf. "Shakespeare Once More," III, 294.

<sup>74</sup> Vv. 101-105. Cf. Bryant, "The Poet."

Any author a nap like Van Winkle's may take,  
If he only contrive to keep readers awake,  
But he'll very soon find himself laid on the shelf,  
If they fall a-nodding when he nods himself.<sup>75</sup>

But we have a right to demand a certain amount of reality, however small, in the emotion of a man who makes it his business to endeavor at exciting our own.<sup>76</sup>

## VII

The poet has now been shown the manner in which Horace, and with him Lowell, would have a young man train his mind to write. In addition to this formal training and shaping of the mind, the poet must also master the word and form which shall adequately express his idea. To diction and meter he must give careful study. Horace's ideas, which are given at some length, may be conveniently summarized as follows:

By exercising care in putting words together the skilful writer may give a new turn to a familiar word. If his novel idea should require a new word, he should unhesitatingly coin it, using preferably one derived from a Greek source; this license should be used but sparingly. Such a freedom is rendered necessary because words, like people, are born, flourish, and decay, and others succeed to them. Occasionally also an old word, revived, may do good service. Of usage in speech use itself is the sole arbiter.<sup>77</sup>

Lowell very nearly repeats the ideas expressed here. He does not indeed advocate the coining of new words—we have a longer heritage of literature than had Horace upon which to draw—but he did assert the advantage of the study of Greek as a source of strength in one's vocabulary.

Gray, more than any of our poets, has shown what a depth of sentiment, how much pleasurable emotion, mere words are capable of stirring through the magic of association, and of artful arrangement in conjunction with agreeable and familiar images.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> "A Fable for Critics," XII, 31. Cf. "Fitz-Adam's Story," XIII, 231.

<sup>76</sup> "Rousseau and the Sentimentalists," IV, 201. Cf. "Dante," V, 53; "Spenser," IV, 231; "Rousseau and the Sentimentalists," IV, 286.

<sup>77</sup> Summary of vv. 46-72.

<sup>78</sup> Letter to J. B. Thayer, January 14, 1877, XVI, 6. Cf. letter to C. E. Norton, October 15, 1870, XV, 265.

It may be asked if those minutiae of alliteration and of close or open vowel-sounds are consistent with anything like that ecstasy of mind, from which the highest poetry is supposed to spring. . . . But whoever would write well must *learn* to write.<sup>79</sup>

His [Spenser's] theory, caught from Bellay, of rescuing good archaisms from unwarranted oblivion, was excellent.<sup>80</sup>

Of the study of meters, Horace's treatment is an historical survey of their significance; Lowell naturally makes no use of this. The following remark of Horace was, however, of interest to Lowell.

If I fail to keep and do not understand these well-marked shifts and shades of poetic forms, why am I hailed as poet? Why through false shame do I prefer to be ignorant rather than to learn?<sup>81</sup>

We find Lowell carefully analyzing the versification of Chaucer, Sidney, Spenser, and Milton; discussing the shift of accent in pentameter verse; testing accented and unaccented syllables; studying all the technique of versification. He did not "prefer to be ignorant rather than to learn."

### VIII

After he has fully prepared himself, the poet must be on his guard against two external forces which militate strongly against his ever producing really great poetry. The first of these is prosaic common sense, which shows itself at its worst in greed of material gain. A man infected with the lust of property can never produce poetry. Against the training which produces such mere money-getters, Horace is especially bitter.

Our Romans, by many a long sum, learn in childhood to divide the *as* [a small weight] into a hundred parts. "Let the son of Albinus answer. If from five-twelfths one ounce be taken, what remains? You might have told me by now." "A third." "Good! you will be able to look after your means. An ounce is added; what's the result?" "A half." When once this canker, this lust of petty gain, has stained the soul, can we hope for poems to be fashioned worthy to be smeared with cedar-oil, and kept in polished cypress?<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> "Gray," VIII, 37. In "Dryden," III, 31 note, Lowell praises Horace far above Dryden.

<sup>80</sup> "Spenser," IV, 314-315, 300. Cf. "The Cathedral," XIII, 43; Letter to C. E. Norton, October 15, 1870, XV, 266.

<sup>81</sup> Vv. 86-87.

<sup>82</sup> Vv. 325-332.

Lowell, too, strenuously objects to "Poor Richard slowly elbowing Plato out."<sup>83</sup> The greatest stricture which he can pass upon the English poetry of the eighteenth-century is that then a season of common sense set in, which acted, as Lowell says it always acts, like a drought upon the springs of poetry.<sup>84</sup> This unlucky fault is one of the great blots upon Dryden's work.<sup>85</sup> His clearest statement is his short poem "Aladdin."

When I was a beggarly boy,  
And lived in a cellar damp,  
I had not a friend nor a toy,  
But I had Aladdin's lamp;  
When I could not sleep for cold,  
I had fire enough in my brain,  
And builded, with roofs of gold,  
My beautiful castles in Spain!  
  
Since then I have toiled day and night,  
I have money and power good store,  
But I'd give all my lamps of silver bright  
For one that is mine no more;  
Take, Fortune, whatever you choose,  
You gave, and may snatch again;  
I have nothing 't would pain me to lose,  
For I own no more castles in Spain!<sup>86</sup>

The second external danger is that arising from the temptation to become popular, and with it the danger to the poet from fulsome flatterers. Many men will praise inordinately the mediocre verse of him whom they hope to find a source of gain.<sup>87</sup> Against the danger of influence from such time-servers, Horace's remedy is the same caution which he recommends in publication: consult disinterested critics, and be wary of premature publication. Lowell agrees that time is the only safe critic; he warns against the acceptance of public opinion as a criterion of worth.

<sup>83</sup> "The Cathedral," XII, 48.

<sup>84</sup> "Gray," VIII, 10. Cf. "The Cathedral," XIII, 64; "Under the Old Elm," XIII, 84; "A Familiar Epistle to a Friend," XII, 279.

<sup>85</sup> "Gray," VIII, 4-5.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. "Rousseau and the Sentimentalists," IV, 191.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Austin Dobson, "The Dilettante."

Like the crier, who gathers a crowd to the auction of his wares, so the poet bids flatterers flock to the call of gain, if he is rich in lands, and rich in moneys put out at interest. But if he be one that can fitly serve a dainty dinner, and be surety for a poor man of little credit, or can rescue one entangled in gloomy suits-at-law, I shall wonder if the happy fellow will be able to distinguish between a false and a true friend.<sup>88</sup>

Reputation is in itself only a farthing-candle, of wavering and uncertain flame, and easily blown out, but it is the light by which the world looks for and finds merit.<sup>89</sup>

If contemporary reputation be often deceitful, posthumous fame may be generally trusted, for it is a verdict made up of the suffrages of the select men in succeeding generations.<sup>90</sup>

The sense of literary propriety so characteristic of all the poems of Horace found an admiring imitator and pupil in Lowell. The New Englander wrote with the same charm and sincerity that have made Horace's verse ring true down through the centuries.

<sup>88</sup> Vv. 419-425.

<sup>89</sup> "Keats," V, 325.

<sup>90</sup> "Dryden," III, 8. Cf. Scudder, *op. cit.*, I, 431: "An invitation to dinner may make a Milton out of the sorriest Flecknoe, and a difference in politics turn a creditable poet into a dunce."

# FRENCH CULTURE AS PRESENTED TO MIDDLE-CLASS AMERICA BY GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK

1830-1840

GRACE BUSSING SHERRER

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## I

IN THE YEAR 1830 was founded a magazine that became an important factor in the spread of French ideas in America, *Godey's Lady's Book*. Louis Antoine Godey was a man with an idea, a double one. Half of the idea was that he should make a million dollars, the other half that he should father a magazine that would be "the guiding star of female education, the beacon light of refined taste, pure morals, and practical wisdom."<sup>1</sup>

Both parts of his idea were fruitful. Upon his heirs devolved an estate of one million dollars, and of his magazine *The Philadelphia City Item* said: "It has been well remarked that where Godey's is taken there is domestic neatness, comfort, elegance, virtue, which, we think, is saying a good deal for the American woman. God bless Godey's and keep it with us many years."<sup>2</sup>

The *Lady's Book* brought into the homes of its 150,000 subscribers fiction, poetry, essays, recipes, music, book reviews, and bits of moral observation and advice. Among these we find a significant number of items relating to French thought.

The material concerning France and things French indicates the type of interest in French culture fostered by Godey among American readers. The development of his general program for the advancement of polite learning and "lady-like" culture was strengthened by his use of French material; it is the study of this material that concerns the present paper.

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the aims and accomplishments of Godey, see: Tassin, "The Magazine In America," *The Bookman*, XLI, 293-6; Warner, "Godey's Lady's Book," *The American Mercury*, II, 399-405; Tarbell, "Sarah Josepha Hale, Editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*"; *The American Magazine*, LXIX, 666-8; Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, pp. 580-593.

<sup>2</sup> This opinion was printed in 1870, after the magazine had been exerting its benign influence for forty years.



## II

During the decade 1830-1840 conditions were favorable for the reception of French ideas by the middle class in America. The fear of Napoleonic institutions having faded, the personalities of the post-Revolutionary period were of special interest to the Americans who admire the self-made man when they no longer need to fear him.

The relations of the United States with the government of Louis Philippe opened most auspiciously. The Orleans monarchy, constitutional in type, headed by a man whose temperament and previous life seemed to argue faithfulness to free democratic ideals, and sponsored by Lafayette, who was claimed by Americans as one of their own national heroes, was welcomed in friendly fashion.<sup>3</sup>

Louis Philippe's journey to America had stirred American interest, which continued to grow as his place in European life became exalted; America was in a receptive attitude in regard to romantic France.

By 1830 the middle class in America was coming into that position of power and security from which it was to dominate American morals in the middle years of the century. Murat, observing the American of 1830, writes: "All who have made a voyage to Europe, try to ape the exclusive manners to which they have been the victim on the other side of the Atlantic."<sup>4</sup>

The fact that the magazine contained extensive references to French life and manners suggests two inferences in regard to the status of French ideas in American interest and thinking. First, Godey's readers were favorably receptive to French material. Godey's business acumen would not have allowed him to publish material unwelcomed by his subscribers. The welcoming attitude surely indicates interest and implies, when we consider the nature of much of the French material, the desire to imitate.

The second inference to be drawn from the study of Godey's French material is that the *Lady's Book* was an important agency in the planting of ideas and attitudes in regard to things French in

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Brett White, *American Opinion of France*, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Achille Murat, *A Moral and Political Sketch of the United States of America*, pp. 349-350.

the minds and manners of the American bourgeoisie. This material reached individuals whose lives afforded no other contact with novel ideas. That the bourgeois urge toward self-improvement found acceptable material in *Godey's* is evident from a study of the steady rate of growth of the subscription list.

The nature and perhaps the value of the ideas and attitudes concerning France which Godey spread abroad in the land may be noted by examination of the material which I have classified under the following general headings:

- |                          |                                |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Belles Lettres—       | Fiction<br>Poetry<br>Biography |
| 2. Science and Travel    |                                |
| 3. Fashionable Sketches— | Manners<br>Customs<br>Morals   |

### III

Remembering that Godey's purpose was to elevate the tone of morals and manners in American homes, we note with interest that he dares to disagree with the current opinion that all French fiction was evil. He prints English society tales, American "homey" stories, French fiction, and Scotch stories in the manner of Sir Walter Scott in equal proportion.<sup>5</sup>

French fiction as Godey selected and published it was not, properly speaking, French. Contemporary French writers were producing fiction quite unsuited to the chaste pages of the *Lady's Book*, but Godey achieved the effect of French fiction without admitting its grosser aspects. His contributors read French tales and produced imitations in which the lightness of treatment, the romantic atmosphere, and "Frenchiness" were carried over but every suggestion of indelicacy carefully obliterated.

<sup>5</sup> Godey's courage deserts him as age advances, for in an editorial written near the end of the magazine's vogue (1863) he has this to say: "Why should American readers who have such a large scope for innocent pleasure in the masterpieces of their own literature, leave these pure sources for improving amusement, and defile their minds in the slough of French fiction, dealing chiefly with the most debasing vices and disgusting miseries? French morality rarely rises above the earth.—After wading through one of these evil works of passion, pollution, and false sentiment it seems like walking in Paradise to take up a healthy English or American Novel."

The French stories published in *Godey's* during the decade we are considering are historical tales, legends retold, and stories of contemporary French life. The first group describes personages and places of importance in French history and emphasizes the chivalric virtues. In such tales as "The Chaplet of Pearls,"<sup>6</sup> "The Vendecan's Story," "The Traitor's Door," "Bertha, or the Court of Charlemagne," the gentle reader learns bits of history, gets a thrill of romance and a picture of gentle ladies courted by brave men. These stories are definitely uplifting and follow the Godey pattern.

Long unsigned stories about the times and personality of Napoleon are abundant in the magazine. Of these the most daring is "The Black Napoleon."<sup>7</sup>

The style as well as the ideas in this bit of fiction are characteristic of much of the "fine writing" of the decade. "It appears evident that the present generation must expect to be encumbered with sons of Napoleon in rivalry with false Dauphins. . . . During the moments of leisure between the thousand prodigies which have made the Egyptian campaign a poem, or a fairy tale, Napoleon, then called Bonaparte, formed acquaintance with the dark Egyptian girls, beautiful, submissive, and passing their lives upon the sand, or upon sofas—their imaginations excited at the sight of a man who projected his shadow like a huge pyramid, from Cairo to upper Egypt." Exceedingly frank for correct American ladies! The tale unfolds as a struggle between the black Napoleon, who plans "to do what my father had not the generosity to do for Egypt," and the fair-haired, legitimate son of the Emperor. "And why should not this young prince, this legitimate son of Napoleon, have promoted that eternal tendency of Europe to obtain possession of Egypt, for the purpose of making an easy road to India, the cradle of human civilization? And why should not the illegitimate son of Napoleon have represented the want, already felt by Africa, . . . of shaking off the besotted yoke of the Sultan? It would have been a wonderful spectacle for mankind to see two men, sprung from the same father—one pale as Europe, the other bronzed like Africa—meeting under

<sup>6</sup> *Godey's Lady's Book*, VII, (1833), 51; III, (1831), 254; V, (1832), 4; V, (1832), 35.

<sup>7</sup> "The Black Napoleon," written as Facts from the Notes of Leon Gozlan," *Godey's Lady's Book*, XI, (1836), 85.

the curve of their sabres in their first march toward each other, asking each other's name, and each replying 'Napoleon'."

That a reading knowledge of French was not uncommon among Godey's readers is indicated by the number of tales depending for their interest on accounts of the difficulties foreigners meet when attempting to make themselves understood in France. Some of the passages strangely recall to modern readers phrases heard in 1918. "Avez-vous some bif-tik? Well, courrez into la rue and get some! I never can remember my French when I get excited!"<sup>8</sup>

Scattered through the *Lady's Book* one notes occasional French stories of gruesomeness and horror which seem foreign to the spirit of a paper devoted to the gentle things of life.<sup>9</sup>

Does Godey think that an occasional thrill of terror will refine the sensibilities of American ladies? In later issues some of Poe's tales were published in the *Lady's Book*, but in general Poe and Godey were unfriendly; Godey never forgave Poe for his remark to a friend, "Godey is a good little man and means as well as he can."<sup>10</sup>

On the whole, we may say that Godey uses stories on French themes to further his program of instruction and elevation. He retains the interest of readers and acquaints them with the finer side of French character for their imitation and with its unattractive aspects as a stimulant, by force of contrast, to the respectability and regularity of the manners of middle-class America.

#### IV

Mellifluous, vacuous verses add their swing to the rhythm of elegant refinement that Godey was introducing to the women of America. Romanticism, self-consciousness, and the ever-present

<sup>8</sup> "Mr. Johnson's Voyage From England to France," *Godey*, XII (1836), 129. Perhaps the best of the Godey stories of this type is "Letters of a French Governess to an English Lady," by Louise H. Sheridan, IX (1834), 94.

<sup>9</sup> "The Maniac," *Godey*, III (1831), 147.

"Burial of A Young Lady," *Godey*, II (1831), 147.

"The Madman," *Godey*, II (1831), 132.

"The Church Of The Petits-Peres," IX (1834), 42.

The old curé in this tale shows portraits of a Duke and his young Duchess who have Tintoretto paint them in their youth and again as they appeared after six weeks in the tomb. One wonders if the author had come in contact with Wiertz, who at this time may have been developing the ideas he later expresses in such paintings as *La Rosine*.

<sup>10</sup> In a letter to G. W. Eveleth, February 29, 1848.

tendency to moralize inspire these poems. The poems are almost invariably written by American contributors on themes suggested by incidents in French history.<sup>11</sup> N. H. Thayer's lines on Robespierre are characteristic of the type of poem Godey offered his public.

Unguarded and alone, in impious meditation sat  
The bloody tyrant, while ever and anon remorseless, reckless  
With sudden start and hellish smile, he soiled  
Fair Virtue's emblem with his unhallowed mandates.<sup>12</sup>

Miss Gooch, as a representative female writer, exhibits in her poem, "Fiaschi to the French," the literary weaknesses of her era and sex by breaking into italics whose frequency I have seen equaled only in the letters of Queen Victoria.

Ye slaves to a Bourbon, a twice broken rod  
Brought back to our land by the vengeance of God,  
I have striven to free, yea, have striven in vain,  
You crouched to your *tyrants*, and cling to your chains.  
Long may you keep it as *slaves* as you are,  
Till every hope shall be quenched in despair,  
Till they *lash* you like *dogs*, if you speak the word *Free*.  
Then howl in your fetters and think upon me.<sup>13</sup>

Apparently Godey wishes his readers to cultivate a taste for poetry with a French flavor but he limits the subjects of the verse he publishes to the very respectable ones of patriotism, mother-love, and French history.<sup>14</sup>

## V

The typical biographical essay in the *Lady's Book* begins with an outline of the life of the subject, followed by anecdotes illustrative of his character, and statements of moral lessons exemplified in the

<sup>11</sup> "The Banner of Murat" inspires P. M. Wetmore, Esq. with poetic fervor. (*Godey's Lady's Book*, I, 1830, 278). "The Sword of Napoleon," by "Alpha" is a poem of this type. (*Godey's Lady's Book*, VII, 1833, 115.)

<sup>12</sup> *Godey's Lady's Book*, IX, (1834), 62.

<sup>13</sup> *Godey's Lady's Book*, XIII, (1837), 38.

<sup>14</sup> In vol. IV, (1832), p. 79, Godey prints a translation of Fontenelle's "The Empire of Poetry," which is his best selection on the subject of poetry. "Finally, in that sea which bounds the States of Poetry, there is the island of Satire, surrounded by bitter waters.—A part of the same sea is called the Archipelago of Trifles; the French term it l'Arcipel des Bagatelles; and their voyagers are well acquainted with those islands."

life story. The latter are of great interest because they reflect the current attitudes and illustrate the ingenuity with which the editor seeks moral lessons in most unpromising material.

Godey's material on French biography is dominated by the figure of Napoleon. Some of the biographical essays emphasize the historical importance of Napoleon, others are concerned with aspects of his personal life. The introduction to an essay of the first type indicates the trend of interest.

The history of this wonderful and fortunate man is so familiar, that it would be trespassing unnecessarily upon the patience of our readers, were we, in this place, to give more than a mere outline, furnishing a few facts and dates for future reference.<sup>15</sup>

Then the writer trespasses unnecessarily by furnishing an outline of nothing more than names and dates joined by a few verbs.<sup>16</sup>

Godey presents the personal aspects of the Napoleon legend in articles on his appearance, his eccentricities, his wives, and the King of Rome. The leading article in the May number in 1832 is "Napoleon's Wives," seven pages of close print. Intimate details are given, revealing the man as a kind husband and a happy father.<sup>17</sup>

The life story of Napoleon's son abounds in romantic details and adds its items to the Napoleon legend. "At the age of 22 years, he has left this vast theatre which was opening to him for weal or woe, to sleep among the dull corpses of the House of Hapsburg in the Convent of the Capuchins."<sup>18</sup>

It is interesting to note that personal sympathy was one of the earliest indications of the turn of the tide of opinion toward regard for Napoleon.

Since the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the French people have been allowed freely to express their deep devotion to the memory of Napoleon. —His statue is again on the monumental column in the Place Vendome, and a suggestion has been made respecting the propriety of removing his bones from St. Helena to repose in the heart of his beloved France. It will

<sup>15</sup> "Napoleon Bonaparte," *Godey's Lady's Book*, VI, (1833), 81.

<sup>16</sup> See "Napoleon Crossing The Alps," *Godey's Lady's Book*, VIII, (1834), 352; "Napoleon's Return From Elba," *ibid.*, XIII, (1837), 49.

<sup>17</sup> *Godey's Lady's Book*, V, 132.

<sup>18</sup> "The Late Duke of Reichstadt," *Godey*, VI (1833), 17. In this article are again recounted Napoleon's directions to the physicians attending Marie Louise, "Save the mother; it is her right."

not be long ere it will be fashionable to visit France for the purpose of paying, at the tomb of Napoleon, the tribute due to the memory of a man, who, unassisted by any adventitious advantages but, merely by the force of his gigantic intellect rose from a private station to a mighty throne.<sup>19</sup>

The third group of references to the Emperor is found in anecdotes and incidental reference in articles not dealing primarily with Napoleon. The frequency with which these references occur indicates the growing admiration for the man. The use of Napoleon's name seems to be regarded as a gesture of strength, of fineness. In articles on dress, music, manners, Napoleon's attitude on the subject in question is frequently noted.<sup>20</sup>

It will be seen that Godey prints the best that can be said of Napoleon and so adds to the tradition of his greatness, always following the Godey plan of treating unpleasant facts with "silent contempt."

Biographical notices of men important in the political world are frequent and on the whole the writing is superior to much of the other work in Godey. Talleyrand is honored by three notices, one being a six-page article faced by an engraved likeness of the versatile man. In none of these stories are mentioned the rowdy goings-on that scandalized the Americans during Talleyrand's visit to this country. The only reference to America is a quotation from his paper, "Sur Les Relations Commerciales de Etats Unis Avec L'Angleterre," "Sooner or later the emancipation of the negroes must overthrow the cultivation of the sugar colonies."<sup>21</sup>

Accounts of lives which have stirred interest in the worlds of fashion or literature are frequent among Godey's biographical material. These accounts bear evidence of careful selection of details which build up the illusion of virtue and pious living among the great men of France.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> "Napoleon," *Godey's Lady's Book*, X, (1836), 59. See also *ibid.*, VI, (1833), 48; IV, (1832), 119.

<sup>20</sup> *Godey*, I (1830), 86, article on "Gloves."

"Let us merely observe that whatever was the matter with the palm of Napoleon's hands, the outer side was exceedingly white, compact, and well formed, and he was fond of pulling off and leaving off his gloves, that people might witness the 'good point' about him." [A defense reaction?]

<sup>21</sup> "Talleyrand," *Godey's Lady's Book*, IX, (1834), 133. See also IX, 75; II, 131.

<sup>22</sup> "La Fontaine," *Godey*, X, (1836), 78.

"Rousseau," *ibid.*, VII, (1833), 132.

The story of such a gay soul as Ninon de L' Enclos may be told for the purpose of elevating the moral tone of American ladies. Much of her error is explained away. "It is strange that so intellectual a woman, one so abounding in the refined acquirements, should have made all the gifts of nature and art, subservient to frailty; but much of her erroneous course must be placed to the extreme laxity of morals which at that time pervaded the highest circles of society."<sup>23</sup>

## VI

Discussion of the material relating to French science and travel and the great mass of material that may be classified as fashionable sketches does not fall within the scope of the present paper. It is apparent that such material adds to the interest in French ideas felt by Godey's readers, and it is reasonable to suppose that this interest was carried over and expressed in terms of the "polite culture" that was Godey's goal.

When Godey prints criticism of America or the Americans he neutralizes the sting by a flood of retaliatory criticism. When he finds a statement of French opinion that is flattering to his public he quotes fully. "Every woman in America has the features as well as the dress of a lady. You would search in vain among the Anglo-Americans . . . for one of those wretched objects, who are feminine only with the physiologist, in whom our cities abound, or for one of those hoggish beldames who fill our markets and three fourths of our fields." Godey quotes these flattering remarks from Michael Chevalier whose book he is reviewing and vigorously recommending.<sup>24</sup>

The praise of his countrywomen stirs our editor to utter the following "Godeyism" which, in a manner, epitomizes the attitude of the middle-class American of the thirties: "Shall we not love our country and its institutions which secure to us these inestimable

"Le Kain," *ibid.*, X, (1836), 10.

Voltaire gave young Le Kain this advice: "Play comedy for your amusement, but never make it your profession. It is the finest, the most rare and difficult talent that can be; but it is disgraced by blockheads and proscribed by hypocrites."

"Noël-Desenfans," *ibid.*, X, (1836), 21.

"Jean Baptiste Say," *ibid.*, VI, (1833), 189.

<sup>23</sup> *Godey's Lady's Book*, II, (1831), 11.

<sup>24</sup> Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics In the United States*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, XIX, 286.



privileges [the privilege of being flattered by a French writer]? What American woman but must be a patriot?"

We may conclude that the attitudes and ideas in regard to things French, fostered by Godey's editorial activity provide material for the satisfaction of the bourgeois urge toward self-advancement. Professor Howard Mumford Jones has carefully stated the position of the middle class of this period.

The practical spirit of the middle-class, avid of all that will help it get on, may adopt from French modes of life, either directly or at second hand, such matters as it finds useful, no less than those which are ornamental; and this may be the case particularly in those small arts which lie on the borderland between manners and things æsthetic. . . . Hence it (the bourgeois spirit) will ignore what does not feed its peculiar appetites, but it will reach out for what it desires. What it desires above all, is that, retaining the solid satisfaction of middle-class existence, it shall amalgamate with these something of the glittering uselessness of upper class life; that it shall enjoy the satisfactions of virtue and also the pleasures of vice.<sup>25</sup>

Our survey of the *Lady's Book* during the thirties shows the material of French interest to be a type that makes it very acceptable to a public which wishes to "adopt from French modes of life, either directly or second hand, such matters as it finds useful." We have noted the types and quality of ideas relating to France published in the *Lady's Book* and may be sure that much of the French color cast over the American scene of the succeeding twenty years was the result of Louis Godey's efforts to familiarize his great circle of readers with the polite culture of France.

<sup>25</sup> Howard Mumford Jones, *America and French Culture*, p. 218.

# JOHN TRUMBULL AS REVOLUTIONIST

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## I

THE TENDENCY of our literary historians to assign individual writers to groups or schools for purposes of general criticism and interpretation has its uses, particularly where minor writers are concerned; but occasionally such a practice leads to serious misinterpretation of a writer who, although he resembles the group in many respects, is fundamentally different in temperament or literary methods. It has been customary to refer to John Trumbull as if he were a flaming revolutionist of the same stripe as Paine or Freneau and to credit him with an all-absorbing love of country which impelled him to write his greatest poem, *M'Fingal*. With the exception of V. L. Parrington, who does not go deeply into the matter,<sup>1</sup> historians and critics have generally followed one another in making unfounded comments touching Trumbull's revolutionary caliber. M. C. Tyler, for example, speaks of the "fierce note" which one finds in Trumbull's poetry after 1774 and of the poet's "strain of passionate sympathy with the direction and tone of . . . Revolutionary politics."<sup>2</sup> Carl Holliday confidently asserts that Trumbull composed *M'Fingal* "not through an itching for fame, but through genuine love of country."<sup>3</sup> In *The Cambridge History of American Literature* Will Howe writes of the "anger" with which Trumbull composed his epic.<sup>4</sup>

Inasmuch as Trumbull sided with the Colonies against the Crown, it is perhaps natural to assume hastily that his motives in writing the poem were purely patriotic and that he wrote it spontaneously in a mood of fierce indignation. Yet a closer examination of *M'Fingal* leads to the belief that although Trumbull by no means harbored Loyalist opinion as definitely as Crèvecoeur, he was far from a bigoted Whig even at the outbreak of the Revolution. In

<sup>1</sup> *The Colonial Mind* (New York, 1927), pp. 250, 251.

<sup>2</sup> *The Literary History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1897), I, 429.

<sup>3</sup> *The Wit and Humor of Colonial Days* (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, II, 150.

Cantos I and II (written 1775) he satirizes not only the Tory point of view but the town-meeting as a whole. He raises laughter at the Colonists for their indecision in the face of varying "winds of doctrine," and he rebukes them for their boisterous conduct. The Squire acidly ridicules the Whigs' mode of conducting an argument, and in a trenchant speech he charges them with ingratitude. Moreover, their patriotism, he finds, is not unmixed with self-interest.<sup>5</sup> These and other passages in the first two cantos indicate that Trumbull did not write in the uncompromisingly partisan spirit which characterized, for example, Freneau. It is in the third canto, however—which, although not published until 1782, was fully planned and partly written in 1775—that Trumbull loosed his keenest shafts of satire at the Whigs. In this part of the poem the unlettered proponents of democracy are mocked in thorough fashion:

. . . For Liberty, in your own by-sense,  
Is but for crimes a patent license,

to

Dispute and pray and fight and groan  
For public good, and mean your own;

. . . . .  
And when by clamours and confusions,  
Your freedom's grown a public nuisance,  
Cry "Liberty," with powerful yearning,  
As he does "Fire!" whose house is burning;  
Though he already has much more  
Than he can find occasion for.  
While every clown that tills the plains,  
Though bankrupt in estate and brains,  
By this new light transform'd to traitor,  
Forsakes his plough to turn dictator,  
Starts an haranguing chief of Whigs,  
And drags you by the ear, like pigs.  
All bluster, arm'd with factious licence,  
New-born at once to politicians.  
Each leather-apron'd dunce, grown wise,  
Presents his forward face t'advise,  
And tatter'd legislators meet,  
From every workshop through the street.

<sup>5</sup> *The Poetical Works of John Trumbull* (Hartford, 1820), I, 8, 9, 11, 23, 42, 46.

His goose the tailor finds new use in,  
 To patch and turn the Constitution;  
 The blacksmith comes with sledge and grate  
 To iron-bind the wheels of state;  
 The quack forbears his patients' souse,  
 To purge the Council and the House;  
 The tinker quits his moulds and doxies,  
 To cast assembly-men and proxies.  
 From dunghills deep of blackest hue,  
 Your dirt-bred patriots spring to view,  
 To wealth and power and honors rise,  
 Like new-wing'd maggots changed to flies . . . <sup>6</sup>

First and last throughout *M'Fingal*, Trumbull introduced a number of condemnations of raucous democracy which were so aptly phrased that for many years after the Revolution they were torn from their contexts and used by the Federalists as texts for diatribes against those radical moves which threatened the stability of the government.<sup>7</sup> Most of the vituperation of the Whigs in the poem issues, to be sure, from the mouth of the Tory Squire; and the arguments against the Whigs are of course far outweighed by the ridicule of the Loyalists. Yet it is obvious that Trumbull wrote many of the Squire's speeches *con amore*; and the fairness, not to say generosity, with which Trumbull states the case against the rebels<sup>8</sup> moves one to inquire how far it is reasonable to characterize the poet as a revolutionist, a blind partisan of "liberty." A brief review of some of the aspects of his life before he wrote *M'Fingal* may be illuminating.

## II

The son of a conservative clergyman, Trumbull seems to have been from his earliest days a person of irreproachable conduct and respect for law and order. As a sophomore in college, he testified against a fellow-student charged with stealing "fowls."<sup>9</sup> When in

<sup>6</sup> *Idem*, I, 88-91.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, *The New Haven Gazette*, August 24, 1786, and September 21, 1786; *The Massachusetts Centinel*, January 2 and 26, 1788.

<sup>8</sup> In a letter to the Marquis de Chastellux written after the war Trumbull himself avowed that he had tried to satirize both sides "with as much impartiality as possible." (*Poetical Works*, II, 231.)

<sup>9</sup> *Judgments of the President & Tutors of Yale College* (manuscript in the possession of Yale University).

1766 Yale College underwent a revolution which resulted in the forced resignation of President Clap, Trumbull does not appear to have been a leader in the movement. His earliest poems were formal, correct imitations of classical poets and slightly indecent lampoons with a strong literary flavor. After he was graduated from college this future revolutionist, one learns, went home to play in the sand.<sup>10</sup> He carried on his first venture in the satirical essay with the moral support of Timothy Dwight.<sup>11</sup> In 1772 he began the composition of *The Progress of Dulness* but was tempted to give it over lest he "make a new set of Enemies."<sup>12</sup> With the encouragement of Silas Deane he pushed the work to a conclusion. The first part contained a spirited attack upon the methods of education in American colleges, particularly Yale College; but after a stormy reception had been accorded that work, Trumbull proceeded to make the second and third parts far more conventional in their satire, less offensive to particular people and institutions. In 1774, after two years of academic retirement as a Yale tutor, he went to Boston to perfect his legal training in the office of John Adams. Here he was in a position to study intimately the preparations of his countrymen for opposing Great Britain by force. His first poem intended for national circulation, *An Elegy on the Times* (1774), called forth by the Boston Port Bill, did indeed attack the British ministry, but it bore a message of prudence that seemed untimely to those in whose eyes the Port Bill was a gross act of tyranny. The Boston Tea-Party, there is reason to believe, appeared to Trumbull an unjustifiable act of violence. Among the most eloquent stanzas in the *Elegy* is that in which the poet counsels watchful waiting:

But oh my friends, the arm of blood restrain,  
 (No rage intemp'rate aids the public weal;)  
 Nor basely blend, too daring but in vain,  
 Th' assassin's madness with the patriot's zeal.

Ours be the manly firmness of the sage . . . <sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings of the North and South Consociations of Litchfield County, Ct.* (Hartford, 1852), p. 77.

<sup>11</sup> *Poetical Works*, "Memoir of the Author," I, 11, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Letter to Silas Deane (January 8, 1772); manuscript in the possession of the Reverend Anson Phelps Stokes.

<sup>13</sup> *Poetical Works*, II, 209.

Now, for a twenty-four-year-old youth to recommend "the manly firmness of the sage" in preference to fighting does not argue the presence of much rebel blood in his veins. Indeed this poem was so mild in its tenor that when a year later his New Haven publishers brought out a reprint of it, they felt obliged to apologize for its note of caution.<sup>14</sup> Again, in 1774, on the very eve of the Revolution, Trumbull wrote to John Adams, apropos of the political situation in Massachusetts, that he hoped "no violent measures" would be taken "till the sense of the whole continent" was known.<sup>15</sup> These may have been words of wisdom, but they were not the words of a head-long revolutionist.

The truth is that Trumbull hated mobs and disorder, and he feared violence. When, in August 1774, John Adams, Trumbull's preceptor, left Boston to attend the First Continental Congress, Trumbull, instead of remaining in Boston at the focus of Revolutionary activity, withdrew to New Haven. He took no active part in the Revolution. In 1777, when New Haven was exposed to invasion and, forsooth, business fell off, he retired to the relative security of his native hamlet, Westbury. Revolutionists should be made of sterner stuff!

### III

It appears, then, that although in the period preceding the Revolution Trumbull was definitely aligned with the Whigs, he was by no means a restless rebel agitator. What was his attitude after the commencement of hostilities? He was slow to enter the lists,—slower than Freneau, who was two years his junior. Indeed, instead of volunteering at once as a rebel propagandist, Trumbull had virtually to be conscripted as a penman of the Revolution. In the spring of 1775 Silas Deane suggested that Trumbull write a satire on General Gage, who had succeeded in rendering himself absurd with his proclamations and his generally indiscreet conduct. Trumbull toyed with the idea for a time and then dropped it until late in the summer, when he finally produced a two-hundred line poem, the only revolutionary verse he wrote during the first six months of the war. In the fall of 1775 Trumbull began the composition of

<sup>14</sup> *An Elegy on the Times* (New Haven, 1775), "Advertisement to the Public."

<sup>15</sup> H[ezekiah] Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America* (Baltimore, 1822), p. 323. The letter here quoted in part was dated at Boston, August 20, 1774.

*M'Fingal*. Silas Deane's remark had stuck in his mind, and other members of the Continental Congress had joined in a request that Trumbull write a comic poem on the campaigns of 1775. The poet diffidently complied. After he had completed what now stand as Cantos I and II of *M'Fingal*, he wrote a letter to his literary adviser to learn his judgment of the work. This letter has remained practically unknown; and no one, so far as can be ascertained, has related it properly to the subject of Trumbull's zeal as a revolutionary writer. It will be observed how casually the poet speaks of his revolutionary purpose. The letter reads in part:

Give me leave, Sir, to introduce to your acquaintance one Squire McFingal, a Gentleman, who has been a Month or six weeks under my care, & who seems desirous of seeing a little of the world. I can say little more in his commendation than that I believe he is perfectly harmless; for indeed I am, upon longer acquaintance, got pretty much out of conceit of him myself, & if you like him no better I shall not wonder if you order him into close Custody. Without a metaphor, you remember, Sir, last spring you recommended to me to attempt a burlesque on General Gage's victories. I wrote you an answer, rather declining it, for reasons I then gave you; & you dropped the matter. It ran, however, in my mind, & I had so much regard for your commands, that I attempted a little sketch or two, but without being able to please myself, & so threw aside the thought for that time. But lately on shewing what I had sketched to one or two friends here, they advised me to throw the whole into some consistent form & go on with it. This (as I had nothing else either of business or amusement) I complied with, & it has produced the thing I here send you. I know it is too long, & too tedious & too—in short, too badly written & has too little wit in it. But I am heartily tired of it, & if it has no merit now, I shall never give it any. Many would call it inelegant & incorrect, but as my notions of the degree of elegance and correctness proper for this style are not just like the Ideas of your merely grammatical Critics, I would not wish it altered in that respect. My Plan you will see comprehends yours, & takes in a larger field,—& one main view I had, was to record a few of the most inveterate enemies of our Country, whom I should wish to see otherwise gibbeted up than in my verse. If you approve of the piece on the whole, do what you please with it. If any particular part do not answer, strike it out, & preserve the connection in any way you chuse. I am sensible many couplets may be omitted without affecting the sense. If it should appear broad [*sic*], more notes would

perhaps be wanting. I leave it all to your better judgment. If you shew it to any Gentlemen with you, unless Mr. J. Adams, I must beg you not to tell the author's name. Do not let the Copy go out of your hands. If you suppress it, I beg you to return it to me. I have no other, except the first rough draft. I have been doubting this fortnight, for it is so long since it was finished, whether to send it to you, or consign it to oblivion. On the whole I have determined to send it. And so fourthly & lastly, I have to enquire of you, your opinion of the piece, & what you design to do with it: which I beg the favour of you by a line, to inform me. . . .<sup>16</sup>

This letter reveals four significant facts. First, Trumbull did not himself originate the idea of his writing a satire on the Tories. Second, far from rushing rashly into print upon the outbreak of the Revolution, he dallied with the idea of writing the poem until he had sufficient leisure. Third, he wished to exercise extreme caution to preserve his anonymity. Fourth, he was not so much excited over the opportunity of serving his country as he was concerned to produce a literary work which would be a credit to him.

The foregoing is not meant as a general denial of the effectiveness of *M'Fingal* as a poem written in the Whig interest. Trumbull expended his genius for ridicule generously in lashing the British and American Tories; once engaged in the business of writing satire, he was not the man to leave a task half done. *M'Fingal* remains probably the most distinguished patriotic poem on the subject of the Revolution written by an American. Although not to be compared in point of political effectiveness with Paine's *Common Sense*, which appeared at the same time as *M'Fingal*, Trumbull's poem was doubtless a serviceable weapon against the Crown.<sup>17</sup> Yet it should be understood that *M'Fingal* was not the work of a reckless radical or a blind revolutionist. It is obvious not only from the letter quoted above but from a perusal of the poem that its author was less concerned for the fate of his country than for the fate of his poem. Rich in classical allusions, verbal subtleties, and echoes of other poets from Homer to Churchill, *M'Fingal*, written in the

<sup>16</sup> *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1886* (New York, 1887), "The Deane Papers," I, 88-90.

<sup>17</sup> It is possible to exaggerate the practical importance of *M'Fingal*. During the entire period of the war it had but three editions, whereas *Common Sense* had "a sale of over 100,000 copies within three months." (*The Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 141.)



cause of revolution, smells less of battle than of the lamp. Trumbull was by nature a poet of the library. If the times required his presence in the market-place, why, he submitted with as good grace as possible, but he still bore the mien of a scholar.

## IV

For a full understanding of the apparent diffidence with which Trumbull undertook the composition of *M'Fingal*, one additional fact is needed. It had been stipulated by his friends that the poem should be a burlesque. Now, despite Trumbull's great talent for burlesque and satire, he was evidently loath to stake his reputation as a poet on comic or satiric verse. He was aware that even in 1775 Puritan America frowned upon a poet who wasted his substance in comic writing. Moreover, he was himself of the opinion that "humorous writings are usually temporary in their Subjects; times change, the ridicule is lost, & the Writer forgotten."<sup>18</sup> Hence from early youth, although he easily threw off brilliant comic poems from time to time, he nursed the delusion that he was destined to excel as a writer of elegiac or of epic poetry, and he sedulously practiced in a serious vein. Even as late as 1785 John Adams wrote in a letter to Trumbull that although *M'Fingal* was all right in its way as a *jeu d'esprit*, Trumbull's great poem remained to be written, namely, a serious heroic work.<sup>19</sup> Trumbull never gratified the wish of Adams, but he well knew that in eighteenth-century America there was a strong demand for "sublime" and "pathetic" poetry,—a demand that was ultimately silenced by Dwight's *Conquest of Canaan* and Barlow's *Columbiad*.

In the light of the material presented in this paper it appears to be a mistake to assume that because Trumbull was a "poet of the Revolution," he was therefore a revolutionist *par excellence*. Seen in its proper perspective, *M'Fingal*, although called forth by a political crisis, is first of all a finished literary production. In view of the poet's proneness to deliberation, it is a little excessive to refer to his "strain of passionate sympathy" with the Revolution. Trumbull's letter to Silas Deane, quoted above, is sufficient refutation of

<sup>18</sup> "Critical Reflections" (October, 1778); manuscript in the possession of the Cornell University Library.

<sup>19</sup> *The Historical Magazine*, IV, 195 (July, 1860).

the assertion that he composed *M'Fingal* "not through an itching for fame, but through genuine love of country." Nor did Trumbull probably write with "anger"; some malice there appears to have been in his nature, but his writing seldom if ever shows anger or high indignation.

John Trumbull was an urbane gentleman of sufficient income and aristocratic tastes. His principal powers were not imaginative or emotional, but intellectual. By temperament something of a recluse and a scholar, he loved the quiet of his study. By profession a lawyer, he deplored all violent interruptions of the established order of things. In his early youth he made spirited, if conventional, attacks upon incompetence and insincerity in education, religion, and medicine. As the years passed, he grew increasingly conservative; after the war he became, like most of the Hartford Wits, a staunch Federalist. At the time of the outbreak of the Revolution his opinions were those of a moderate liberal; consequently when he found himself thrown among the Whigs, he espoused their cause with what warmth his nature possessed: if he was no revolutionist, he was at least a patriot. But more than a patriot he was an ambitious man of letters. He conceived of himself as destined to shine in a rôle for which he was not fitted by nature, that of the elegiac or the epic writer; and he was reluctant to base his claim to fame as a poet upon satire, which was of the devil, or upon humor, which was ephemeral. His friends, however, and circumstance induced him to write the only poem for which posterity could ever thank a man with his gifts, the comic satire, *M'Fingal*.

# EBENEZER COOK AND THE MARYLAND MUSE

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## I

HUMOROUS writing is found so infrequently in our colonial literature that any author who deviated from the path of serious composition is well worth a closer examination. Material recently gathered<sup>1</sup> reveals that Ebenezer Cook was a much more significant figure in the early development of American literature than he hitherto has been considered. He did not merely write an amusing satire directed at Maryland and then disappear forever. That view takes into consideration only a period of his career that hardly would justify the inclusion of his name in a history of American literature. The man who wrote *The Sot-weed Factor* was no more a native writer than was Charles Dickens when he wrote his *American Notes*. Ebenezer Cook established himself as an American author, however, by his later activities and productions.

This important phase of his career may be best understood by a study of *The Maryland Muse*. The volume consists of twenty-five double-columned pages of verse, and is described by its title-page as follows:

The/ Maryland Muse./ Containing/ I. The History of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's Rebellion/ in Virginia. Done into Hudibrastic Verse, from/ an old MS./ II. The Sot-weed Factor, or Voiage to Maryland./ The Third Edition, Corrected and Amended./ By E. Cooke, Gent./ "Let Criticks that shall discommend it, mend it."/ Annapolis:/ Printed in the Year M,DCC,XXXI.

This book is now so rare that no copy is known to exist in America. The catalogue of the British Museum lists one copy of the original, a complete photostatic reproduction of which is in the New York Public Library. The extreme rarity of this volume is

<sup>1</sup>James T. Pole, *Ebenezer Cook: The Sot-weed Factor. An Edition*, Columbia University, 1931. This work is an unpublished Master's essay.

doubtless largely responsible for the general obscurity of Cook's later activities. Moses Coit Tyler was, I believe, the first to suggest that the *Sotweed Redivivus*, published at Annapolis in 1730, was the work of an imitator, rather than of Cook himself. This poem and the *Sotweed Factor* were evidently the only works of Cook with which Professor Tyler was familiar. Since a period of twenty-two years intervened between their dates of publication, the theory that a later writer on the subject of tobacco adopted the catchy title and the signature of the earlier poem was logical enough. A knowledge of Cook's other work, however, seems to remove any necessity for such a conjecture. Some more recent commentators make mention of *The Maryland Muse*, but seem not to have been familiar with the later period of Cook's life, which could be learned of only by an actual reading of the volume.

After his first unfortunate visit to Maryland and the subsequent publication of his blasting satire in London, Cook was not again heard from for a period of twenty years. During that time he had returned to Maryland, had made the province his permanent home, and had become the leader of the first literary group to appear in the South. The first evidence of his return to America was a short poem entitled "An Elegy on the Death of the Honorable Nicholas Lowe, Esq:" which appeared in *The Maryland Gazette* for December 17-24, 1728. It was signed: "By E. Cooke. Laureat." Mr. Bernard Steiner remarks in the introduction to his *Early Maryland Poetry*:

. . . as Col. Lowe was a member of His Lordship's Council, there is some plausibility in the claim that here was an official laureat in Maryland.<sup>2</sup>

Certainly Cook is revealed as being in close connection with the highest official circles in the province. In 1730 the *Sotweed Redivivus*, by E. C. Gent., a sensible and practical discussion of the economic problem caused by over-production of tobacco, was issued from the press of William Parks at Annapolis. The publication in the following year of the volume under discussion ended the known activities of the poet.

<sup>2</sup> *Early Maryland Poetry*, edited by Bernard Steiner (Baltimore, 1900), p. 8.

## II

The first two-thirds of *The Maryland Muse* consist of a metrical account of Nathaniel Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. On the verso of the title-page are twenty-four lines of verse addressed "To the Author." The style and tone of this humorous preface immediately suggest that Cook most likely wrote it himself, in spite of the fact that it is signed "H. J." The writer says that he is sending an old manuscript, which Cook may put into verse and gain fame as other historians have done.

I'll add no more—But if you please, Sir,  
Attempt the same for Ebenezer,  
Which you may gain, or I'm mistaken,  
If you can nicely Cook this Bacon.

In general treatment of its theme, *Bacon's Rebellion, &c.* is mock-heroic. Cook evidently had no admiration for Nathaniel Bacon, and he here takes every opportunity to picture him as ridiculous and foolish. The poem is in direct and interesting contrast to the reverential tone of the anonymous "Bacon's Epitaph, Made by his Man" and to the seriousness of the "Burwell Papers." The poem is divided into three cantos, each of which is introduced by six or eight lines of verse which give the argument. Canto I contains an account of the events leading up to the rebellion. Bacon, whom Cook refers to as "Little Nat, presumptuous Hector," persuades the mob of people to make him their leader. This they do, and then,

Wrapt in their little God of Strife,  
Who was (to draw him to the life)  
From Head to Foot scarce Nine-pin high,  
Nor half so thick as Magogg's Thigh,

the people petition Governor Berkeley to give Bacon a commission. This is refused by Berkeley, who

. . . in Derision, bid them nim'ly  
Go smoak their Bacon in the chimney.

The remainder of this canto describes the beginning of hostilities. Introducing Canto II, Cook tells the reader that

Here too, you'll find, to make you merry all,  
Accounts of Bacon's Death and Burial.

Bacon, at the head of

A thoughtless, giddy Multitude,  
From Newgate, and from Bridewell spew'd,

engages in a successful battle with Berkeley's troops. The description of this battle is a masterpiece of mock-heroic writing of the more humorous type. Bacon then visits various towns to secure recruits. At Gloster, now spelled Gloucester, he applies to the local cavalry for assistance, but they decline to join him. The following conversation between Bacon and one of the officers is an excellent example of the tone of the poem as a whole:

At this, a certain Officer  
Apply'd to's Honour, saying, Sir,  
You've spoke to th' Horse but not the Foot,  
'Tis ten to one, but they will do't.  
Quoth Nat, you miss my Speech's Force,  
  
I spoke to the Men, and not the Horse,  
Though 'twas scarce worth my while t' harangue 'em,  
They're such obdurate Rascals, hang 'em;  
Pray you go speak to your Brother Creatures,  
Asses best know the Horses' Natures.

Canto II ends with Bacon's death, caused, as Cook says, by maggots generated in his brain, which, unable to make their way through his thick skull, escaped through the pores of his body. The third canto tells of the conclusion of the rebellion after Bacon's death. The poem ends with the following lines:

So much for Hanging and for Killing,  
Enough (I hope) for half Five Shillings;  
For I've no more of this to tell,  
'Ere you read Sotweed rest a spell,  
So, for the present, Sirs, Farewell.

Cook's attitude of ridicule toward Bacon and of admiration for Berkeley may throw important light upon his own position in

Maryland. It is evident that he was a strong supporter of the ruling class and the nobility. This seems to be evidence that an intimate relationship existed between Cook and the Calverts. The idea that he was created "Laureat" of Maryland is thus made more easily acceptable.

### III

The second part of *The Maryland Muse* is by far the more important for the light that it throws upon Cook's later activities in Maryland. This version of *The Sot-weed Factor* differs from the 1708 edition in many important respects as well as in minor details. Mr. L. C. Wroth, in his study of printing in colonial Maryland, infers that "Cook was not repentant . . . from the fact that he republished *The Sot-weed Factor* in 1731." But a comparison of the two texts shows that the statement of this usually accurate writer is the exact opposite of the actual truth. Cook's later conciliatory and even apologetic attitude is very clearly shown by his revision of the two passages that are, perhaps, the most striking of all in the 1708 edition.

One of the cleverest bits of satire in the earlier poem is the keen travesty on the Quakers and their business dealings:

While riding near a Sandy Bay,  
I met a Quaker, Yea and Nay;  
A Pious Conscientious Rogue,  
As e'er wear Bonnet or a Brogue,  
Who neither Swore nor kept his Word,  
But cheated in the Fear of God;  
And when his Debts he would not pay,  
By Light within he ran away.

Although the narrative material of this passage is retained in the 1731 edition, the reference to the Quakers is removed, and the whole point of the satire is sacrificed:

While riding near a Sandy Bay  
I met a Planter in my Way,  
A pious conscientious Rogue  
As e'er wore Bonnet, Hat, or Brogue.  
Who neither swore, nor kept his Word,  
But cheated in the Fear o' th' Lord;

And when his Debts he could not pay,  
From trusting Fools he'd run away.

Perhaps the most striking lines of the original version are those at the end of the poem, in which Cook calls down a blasting curse upon the colony and its inhabitants:

Embarqu'd and waiting for a Wind,  
I left this dreadful Curse behind.

May Cannibals transported o'er the Sea  
Prey on these Slaves, as they have done on me;  
May never Merchant's, trading Sails explore  
This Cruel, this Inhospitable Shoar;  
But left abandon'd by the World to starve,  
May they sustain the Fate they well deserve;  
May they turn Savage, or as Indians Wild,  
From Trade, Converse, and Happiness exil'd;  
Recreant to Heaven, may they adore the Sun,  
And into Pagan Superstitions run  
For Vengeance ripe;  
May Wrath Divine then lay those Regions wast  
Where no Man's Faithful, nor a Woman Chast.

But the 1731 version is very different. The hatred has given way to praise of the province, and the evil wishes are replaced by a plea for pleasant relations between the traders and the planters:

And while I waited for a Wind,  
This Wish proceeded from my Mind.

If any Youngster cross the Ocean,  
To sell his wares—may he with Caution  
Before he pays, receive each Hogshead,  
Lest he be cheated by some Dogshead,  
Both of his Goods and his Tobacco;  
And then like me, he shall not lack-woe.  
And that Land where Hospitality  
Is every Planter's darling Quality,  
Be by each Trader kindly us'd,  
And may no Trader be abus'd;  
Then each of them shall deal with Pleasure,  
And each increase the other's Treasure.



These changes, which detract decidedly from the cleverness of the original poem, could have been occasioned by nothing less than the most thorough repentance of the earlier invective. This change of mind is further evidenced by the intelligent and constructive criticism of the *Sotweed Redivivus*.

No reference to Cook's activities after 1731 is known to exist. However, a footnote which appears on the last page of *The Maryland Muse* provides material for two surmises as to his later life. This note reads as follows:

N.B. The Author of these Poems intending to Publish his *Works* Annually, under the same Title, hopes *The Second Part* (when ready for the *Press*) will meet with the like Encouragement from his Friends and Benefactors.

As far as is known, this promised "Second Part" never appeared. It may be that it exists but has not yet been located. A second possibility is that Cook died shortly after the publication of *The Maryland Muse*.

## ADDITIONS TO LONGFELLOW BIBLIOGRAPHY INCLUDING A NEW PROSE TALE<sup>1</sup>

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WITH about three years of wandering and study in Europe behind him, Longfellow went to Brunswick, Maine, in 1829, to teach languages at Bowdoin College. Before he left his professorial duties there in 1835, however, he had done other things in addition to teaching; he had, for instance, published in various periodicals of the day articles reminiscent of his travels or indicative of his linguistic interests.

Among the periodicals to which he contributed was *The Token*,<sup>2</sup> one of the most remarkable of the annuals published in this country during the quarter-century of their popularity. This illustrated yearly miscellany of original verse and prose was edited for thirteen of its fifteen issues by Samuel Griswold Goodrich, "Peter Parley" to the generation of children before the Civil War. In some way or other Goodrich managed to obtain for his publication certain of the writings of the young Bowdoin professor, even as he procured at about the same time stories by Longfellow's college classmate, Nathaniel Hawthorne, then unknown and hidden in Salem.

Some of Longfellow's contributions to *The Token*, although they are not to be found in his collected works, are known to students of the poet.<sup>3</sup> Even the casual reader is acquainted with the

<sup>1</sup> In the course of a study of American literary annuals and gift books I have found, among the many anonymous and pseudonymous contributions to the volumes, articles which appear to be by writers of great importance as well as some by persons of lesser literary consequence. This paper concerns, however, only those items which at this stage of my research may be confidently attributed to a significant author.

<sup>2</sup> *The Token* appeared in Boston each autumn, 1827-1841, inclusive, under the imprints of a series of publishers. Its title was changed in 1832 to *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Cambridge History of American Literature* lists the following, II, 430: "The Indian Summer," *The Token*, 1832 (a prose tale, pp. 24-35, signed "L"); "The Bald Eagle," *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir*, 1833 (a prose tale, pp. 74-89, unsigned); "An Evening in Autumn," *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir*, 1833 (a poem, pp. 150-152, signed "H.W.L.").

one piece that he signed with his name.<sup>4</sup> But others appear to have escaped attention.

## I

*The Token* for 1832 contains a short translation from the Spanish, entitled "La Doncella,"<sup>5</sup> which appeared later, with some alterations, among the "little shreds and patches of erudition" in that portion of *Outre-Mer* called "A Tailor's Drawer."<sup>6</sup> The version in the annual is headed by a Spanish couplet:

Muy graciosa es la doncella,  
Como es hermosa y bella

and by Longfellow's free English rendering of it, both set in smaller type than the rest of the poem. The couplet appears in English alone in *Outre-Mer*, as a part of the body of the poem itself.<sup>7</sup>

The second stanza of the "little ditty," as Longfellow termed it, was first printed:

Tell me, thou knight, whom all equipped  
In burnished arms I see,  
If steed, or arms, or marshalled hosts,  
Be half so fair as she.

In *Outre-Mer* the lines were revised as follows:

Tell me, thou gallant cavalier,  
Whose shining arms I see,  
If steel, or sword, or battle-field  
Be half so fair as she!

Otherwise, the printings of this poem in *The Token* and in the poet's collected works are identical, except for certain minutiae of punctuation.

## II

As Goodrich wrote in his autobiography<sup>8</sup> that Longfellow contributed mainly prose to *The Token*, it is not surprising to find in

<sup>4</sup> "The Two Locks of Hair," *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir*, 1842, pp. 22-23. It is reprinted in *The Poetical Works of . . . Longfellow* (Boston and New York, 1887), VI, 275-276, and there credited to *The Token*.

<sup>5</sup> P. 280; signed "L\*\*\*\*\*."

<sup>6</sup> See *The Prose Works of . . . Longfellow* (Boston and New York, 1888), I, 147-148; also *The Poetical Works of . . . Longfellow* (Boston and New York, 1887), VI, 215-216.

<sup>7</sup> Iris Lilian Whitman, in *Longfellow and Spain* (New York, 1927), p. 144, points out that this poem, which she mistakenly says was translated in 1835, is by Gil Vicente.

<sup>8</sup> *Recollections of a Life Time* (New York and Auburn, 1857), II, 263.

the annual two prose pieces besides those Longfellow himself admitted having written for the work.<sup>9</sup> One of these is "The Youth of Mary Stuart."<sup>10</sup>

This article may be found also in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* for February, 1905,<sup>11</sup> where it was presented as "A Hitherto Unpublished Essay," with a facsimile of part of the manuscript. The most striking difference between the work as it appeared in *The Token* and as it was displayed seventy years later in *Harper's* is the omission in the latter printing of a few passages in French from the essay of Pierre de Bourdeille, Abbé de Brantôme, upon the same unfortunate Mary Stuart.<sup>12</sup> As authority for some of his statements, Longfellow prefaced his work in *The Token* with a few lines from the French writer, adding further on, in footnote form, several other passages from the same source. The printing of the essay in *Harper's* varies also in that it does not include the French stanzas of the originals preceding Longfellow's translation of two poems said to have been written by Mary Stuart herself.

So much for omissions in the later form. *Harper's* may find some consolation, though, in the fact that the essay as it appeared in the magazine contains a sentence or two not found in the earlier printing—once even a whole paragraph<sup>13</sup>—and there is a variance of certain details of spelling, capitalization, and punctuation.

### III

A critic in *The North American Review*, commenting in some detail upon the various articles in *The Token* for 1834, remarked in passing that the sketch entitled "The Convent of the Paular" was "probably by Professor Longfellow";<sup>14</sup> but apparently the title has never been included in bibliographies of the poet. This story,<sup>15</sup> a

<sup>9</sup> See Longfellow's letter quoted in Luther S. Livingston, *Bibliography of First Editions of . . . Longfellow* (New York, 1908), p. 12. The prose pieces are those mentioned in note 3, *supra*.

<sup>10</sup> *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir*, 1835, pp. 65-75; signed "L."

<sup>11</sup> CX, 386-389.

<sup>12</sup> This essay is one in Brantôme's "Vies des dames illustrées," and may be found in *Oeuvres* (Londres, 1779) II, 105 ff., or, in a more modern edition, in *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1848), II, 134 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Harper's*, CX, 386. Paragraph beginning "In musings such as these. . ." It is in parentheses.

<sup>14</sup> XXXVIII, 199 (January, 1834).

<sup>15</sup> *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir*, 1834, pp. 79-98.

translation from a Spanish manuscript, according to the heading, is signed "L." and internally is replete with the same sad delicacy which pervades Longfellow's tale called "The Indian Summer," in *The Token* of two years earlier. The compelling evidence, however, which leads one to believe that this Spanish story came from Longfellow's pen is the presence of certain verses in Spanish with which the tale is brought to an end. They are from "Coplas a la Muerte Del Maestre De Sant Ago Don Rodrigo Manrique, Su Padre," by Jorge Manrique.<sup>16</sup>

The culmination of Longfellow's interest in this fifteenth-century Spanish classic was, as is well-known, the publication in 1833 of *Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique. Translated from the Spanish*, his "first book, a thin volume of ninety-six pages."<sup>17</sup> He had the year before printed in *The North American Review* a partial translation of Manrique's poem,<sup>18</sup> with corresponding passages of the original, and his complete translation had appeared shortly afterward in another periodical.<sup>19</sup> The sketch in *The Token* for 1834, which must have been written, at the latest, by the summer of 1833—that is, in the same period of less than two years which included the volume and the two magazine articles—seems to contain but another evidence of Longfellow's delight in Manrique's ode, which he called "the most beautiful moral poem of that [the Spanish] language."<sup>20</sup>

The presence of the lines of Manrique, which are somewhat arbitrarily appended to the story, is accounted for in that the main character of the narrative, a soldier named Juan Zurdo, is said to have deciphered them from among the scrawlings on the wall of a chamber during his stay at the convent of the Paular. That they

<sup>16</sup> Run together without stanzaic division, the verses at the end of "The Convent of the Paular" are, with slight disagreement in spelling and accentuation, parts I and III of the poem as printed in a modern Spanish edition: *Letras Españolas XII: Jorge Manrique, "Coplas y sus Glosas"* (Madrid, 1926), pp. 13-14.

<sup>17</sup> *The Poetical Works of . . . Longfellow* (Boston and New York, 1887), VI, 180. The introductory note to the section devoted to Longfellow's translations contains the information in regard to his interest in the "Coplas" used here.

<sup>18</sup> XXXIV, 277-315 (April, 1832): an article on "Spanish Devotional and Moral Poetry." On pp. 310 and 311 are the stanzas which conclude "The Convent of the Paular," with their translations. Other portions of the poem follow.

<sup>19</sup> *New England Magazine*, III, 454-457 (December, 1832).

<sup>20</sup> *The Poetical Works of . . . Longfellow* (Boston and New York, 1887), VI, 181. Quoted from the preface to Longfellow's *Coplas* (Boston, 1833).

were present in the unknown "Spanish manuscript" from which the account is said to have been translated may be doubted in the light of Longfellow's deep interest in Manrique. For that matter, the statement that the tale about Juan Zurdo was translated from a definite though unnamed source is not necessarily true, especially since the territory described in the story was actually traversed by the poet during his own travels in Spain. Longfellow might have created a little fiction merely to lend a note of genuineness to his account.

The opening paragraphs tell of the soldier, Juan Zurdo, tramping the wild and desolate Sierra de Guadarrama on his way from San Ildefonso to the convent of the Paular.<sup>21</sup> Once at its gate, he seeks refuge for the night in the lonely abode of the Carthusian brotherhood. But the gloominess of the place strikes terror to his heart; he can eat but little, and his sleep is disturbed by the sounds which echo through the vast empty chambers about him. He has seen no one but the lay brother who granted him hospitality, and, unable to rest because of his imaginings, he gropes his way in the early hours of the morning to the convent church. There he comes, unnoticed, upon the monks at prayer.

. . . he threw himself upon his knees, and gazed around him with earnest curiosity. There stood a band of sallow and emaciated monks, clothed in long white garments; an open sepulchre beneath their bended knees, a sad memento of the vanity of all things earthly; before them an effigy of the crucifixion, and overhead the high and shadowy arches of the church, which seemed ready to fall and bury them in the grave beneath! O, what a crowd of reflections rush upon the mind of man in such a spot! The rich feels that he is poor; the incredulous trembles and believes; the miser scorns his coffers, and the votary of passion condemns his unhallowed lusts! All feel the sanctifying influence of the place, all repent, and for a time at least, learn to know themselves! There death and eternity, figured forth in their deepest colors, exhibit to us—the one, the common goal of all things human, the other, the soul's uncertain destiny hereafter!<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Iris Lilian Whitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, quotes a letter written by Longfellow in 1827 from Spain which tells of his visit to San Ildefonso and his travels in the Guadarrama Mountains. He seems not to have mentioned El Paular, a famous Carthusian monastery, founded in 1390, which lies in a valley of the Guadarrama Mountains 65 kilometers from Madrid and 26 kilometers from Segovia.

<sup>22</sup> *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir*, 1834, p. 90.

The rigorous asceticism of the Carthusians impresses the soldier deeply, but not until he recognizes in one of the monks his old friend Gonzalez, however, does he appreciate the real severity of the rules of the holy order. Gonzalez may not reply to Juan's greeting; he may only pass by, unheeding and stern. Chagrined that he who had once been a constant companion should now take no notice of him, Juan arranges to visit Gonzalez's cell. Even this effort brings forth no signs of the old affection, and there is nothing to do but to gaze in wonder about the desolate place, silent, while the monk stands in adoration before his crucifix, austere, unrecognizing, faithful to his vows.<sup>23</sup>

It is thus that when Juan Zurdo sets out from the convent of the Paular to continue his journey, his mind is filled with the sentiments of the poem he has read upon the wall:

Recuerde el alma adormida.  
Aviva el seso y despierte  
Contemplando;  
Como se pasa la vida  
Como se viene la muerte  
Tan callando.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Iris Lilian Whitman, *op. cit.*, p. 70, quotes Longfellow's journal for November 12, 1827, which tells of his visit to the Carthusian convent at Granada. "The Carthusian monks are very rigorous in their discipline. They . . . never converse among themselves nor speak to any one except on days of indulgence, . . ."

<sup>24</sup> Thus appear the first lines of the verses by Manrique, as printed at the conclusion of the tale.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### A SOURCE FOR MARK TWAIN'S "THE DANDY FRIGHTENING THE SQUATTER"

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AN INTERESTING addition to the Mark Twain juvenilia was recently made when Franklin J. Meine, in his *Tall Tales of the Southwest*,<sup>1</sup> presented "The Dandy Frightening the Squatter." In a prefatory note Mr. Meine describes the tale as "Mark Twain's earliest known printed story, an original contribution to an American periodical in 1852, when Mark aged seventeen was setting type in the newspaper print-shop in Hannibal."<sup>2</sup>

Bernard DeVoto,<sup>3</sup> commenting on the story, regards it as the youthful Clemens's response to the "wild and robust and male" humor of the frontier, which in the local newspapers of Mark Twain's boyhood went the rounds of the American press. "It was this humor—" writes DeVoto, "the humor of the South and the Southwest—to which Mark Twain was born. From his boyhood he heard it from the mouths of rivermen and wherever the villagers talked together in the leisurely waterside town of Hannibal. Through the printing shop where he was apprenticed and the office of the brother's newspaper passed the flood of 'exchanges' from all over the county [country?]." It was this humor, according to DeVoto, that "gave to young Sam Clemens the interesting example of material immediately at hand. . . . The life here pictured had been his; the characters were men and women whose counterparts he saw every day. These people, then, could be written about! When young Sam Clemens took to writing, he had to look for a model no farther than the nearest newspapers and for material no farther than the boiler deck."<sup>4</sup>

Anyone familiar with local newspapers of the period 1830 to

<sup>1</sup> (New York: Knopf, 1930.)

<sup>2</sup> *The Carpet Bag*, Boston, May 1, 1852. (Letter from Franklin J. Meine, September 25, 1931.)

<sup>3</sup> General editor of the *American Deserts* series, of which *Tall Tales of the Southwest* is a volume.

<sup>4</sup> *Tall Tales of the Southwest*. Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxi.



1860 will heartily agree with Mr. DeVoto's statement concerning the abundance of humorous exchanges which in that period went the rounds of the American press. Nor can one doubt that Sam Clemens, employed in Orion's print-shop at Hannibal, read this humor and enjoyed it. The statement, however, that Mark Twain "was utilizing the material at hand in a way that had been shown him,"<sup>5</sup> or that when he took to writing "he had to look no farther than the boiler deck," must be accepted with considerable reservation. For in the light of a recent discovery, it becomes evident that Mark Twain, in writing "The Dandy Frightening the Squatter," found in the humorous exchanges that came to his attention not merely an inspiration and a model, but also the material for his short story.

A sketch which may have served Mark Twain, either consciously or unconsciously, as the frame-work for his story appeared in the February 13, 1849, issue of the Bloomington (now Muscatine, Iowa) *Herald* under the title, "A Scene on the Ohio." In printing the sketch the *Herald* acknowledges its indebtedness to the *Elephant*, which, according to Frank Luther Mott (*A History of American Magazines*, D. Appleton and Company, 1930), was a comic magazine published in New York for only a few months of 1848.<sup>6</sup>

Mark Twain's story and the sketch as printed in *The Bloomington Herald* follow in parallel:

THE DANDY FRIGHTENING THE  
SQUATTER  
S. L. C.

SCENE OF THE OHIO

About thirteen years ago, when the now flourishing young city of Hannibal, on the Mississippi River, was but a "wood-yard," surrounded by a few huts, belonging to some hardy "*squatters*," and such a thing as a steamboat was considered quite a sight, the following incident occurred:

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 780 and 809. It is possible, of course, that the sketch bore a different title in the *Elephant*, or even that it there formed merely a part of a longer tale.

A tall, brawny woodsman stood leaning against a tree which stood upon the bank of the river, gazing at some approaching object, which our readers would easily have discovered to be a steamboat.

About half an hour elapsed, and the boat was moored, and the hands busily engaged in taking on wood.

Now among the many passengers on this boat, both male and female, was a spruce young dandy, with a killing moustache, etc., who seemed bent on making an impression upon the hearts of the young ladies on board, and to do this, he thought he must perform some heroic deed. Observing our squatter friend, he imagined this to be a fine opportunity to bring himself into notice; so, stepping into the cabin, he said:

"Ladies, if you wish to enjoy a good laugh, step out on the guards. I intend to frighten that gentleman into fits who stands on the bank."

The ladies complied with the request, and our dandy drew from his bosom a formidable looking bowie-knife, and thrust it into his belt; then, taking a large horse-pistol in each hand, he seemed satisfied that all was right. Thus equipped, he strode on shore, with an air which seemed to say—"The hopes of a nation depend on me." Marching up to the woodsman, he exclaimed:

"Found you at last, have I? You are the very man I've been looking for these three weeks! Say your prayers!" he continued, presenting

Our boat stopped to take in wood. On the shore, among a crowd, was a remarkable stupid looking fellow with his hands in his pockets and his under lip hanging down.

A dandy, ripe for a scrape, tipped nods and winks all about, saying,

"Now I'll have some fun. I'll frighten the greenhorn."

He jumped ashore with a drawn bowie-knife, brandishing it in the face of the "green-'un," exclaiming:

"Now I'll punish you: I have been looking for you a week."

his pistols, "you'll make a capital barn door, and I shall drill the key-hole myself!"

The squatter calmly surveyed him a moment, and then, drawing back a step, he planted his huge fist directly between the eyes of his astonished antagonist, who, in a moment, was floundering in the turbid waters of the Mississippi.

Every passenger on the boat had by this time collected on the guards, and the shout that now went up from the crowd speedily restored the crestfallen hero to his senses, and, as he was sneaking off towards the boat, was thus accosted by his conqueror:

"I say, yeou, next time yeou come around drillin' key-holes, don't forget yer old acquaintances!"

The ladies unanimously voted the knife and pistols to the victor.

The fellow stared stupidly at the assailant. He evidently had not sense enough to be scared—but as the bowie knife came near his face, one of his huge fists suddenly evacuated his pocket and fell hard and heavy between the dandy's eyes, and the poor fellow was floundering in the Ohio.

Greening jumped on board our boat, put his hands in his pockets; and looked around,

"Maybe," said he, "there's somebody else here that's been looking for me a week."

—*Elephant*

Where Sam Clemens encountered the Ohio river scene can only be conjectured. It is quite doubtful, in view of the very brief life of the *Elephant*, that he saw it there. The fact, however, that *The Bloomington Herald* reprinted the sketch warrants the supposition that other Western newspapers, some of which may have been on his brother's exchange list, may have printed it also. It is by no means improbable, of course, that Clemens first saw it in the *Herald*, or, for that matter, that Orion Clemens had inserted the sketch in *The Hannibal Journal*. Yet the question concerning the immediate source of the story is of minor importance. Much more interesting is the fact that when the youthful Clemens "took to writing" his "earliest known printed story," he was moved to literary composition not so much by the Mississippi, nor by the boiler-deck, as Mr. De Voto suggests, as by a sketch already in print the humor of which had taken hold of his fancy.

The fact, however, that Sam Clemens was not entirely original

in "The Dandy Frightening the Squatter" by no means diminishes the value of its discovery. For the student of Mark Twain's juvenilia the interest merely shifts from a consideration of the source of Mark Twain's inspiration to a consideration, particularly, of his technique. Thus, with the possibility of examining Clemens's additions to the Ohio scene, it is interesting to observe which of the typical characteristics of the later humorist are revealed. Most obvious, perhaps, is the quality of exaggeration. The dandy of the sketch is touched up into a "spruce young dandy, with a killing moustache, etc." His bowie-knife, becoming "formidable," is supplemented by a pair of large horse-pistols. The dandy's search for the squatter is extended from one week to three, while his brief "Now I'll punish you" is heightened into the extravagant language of the frontier.

A personal characteristic of Mark Twain reflected in the story, especially in the utter discomfiture of the dandy and in the ladies' open approval of the squatter, is his joy in the exposure of pretence and sham. This feeling in Mark Twain, it is well known, grew with the years but manifested itself more frequently on the negative side as an intense hatred.

That most of Mark Twain's additions to the sketch are appropriate and make for increased interest will perhaps be admitted. By giving the incident a definite place and time setting, by allowing the spectators to emerge into the picture, particularly the ladies, by motivating the dandy's attack on the squatter, and finally by depicting the complete humiliation of the dandy, Mark Twain increased the dramatic effect of the action. On the other hand it should be observed that while a dandy might dare to attack a "remarkable stupid looking fellow" with "his under lip hanging down," it is exceedingly questionable whether he would thus attack a "tall, brawny woodsman" who has an air of calmness about him.

THE ART OF PLEADING: A "LOST" POEM

ROBERT WHITNEY BOLWELL

*The George Washington University*

IN EVANS'S *American Bibliography* (Vol. III, p. 22, No. 6785) an item is listed:

Smalridge, George

1663-1719

*The Art of Preaching*. In imitation of part of Horace's *Art of Poetry*. New York: printed by James Parker. 1751, pp. 16, 8vo.

In a miscellaneous compilation of pamphlets in the rare book collection of the Library of Congress (Hazard, *Pamphlets*, Vol. V, No. 4) there is a poem, the title page of which reads:

*The Art of Pleading*, in Imitation of Part of Horace's *Art of Poetry*. New York. Printed and Sold by James Parker, at the New Printing-Office, in Beaver-Street, 1751.

The only difference between Evans's entry and this item is the use of the word *preaching* for *pleading*; the printer, place of printing, date, number and size of pages, are the same. There is no reason to doubt that Evans has confused this poem with Smalridge's work. Smalridge, of course, did not write it.<sup>1</sup>

There is, however, a general similarity in form, devices, and manner between *The Art of Pleading* and *The Art of Preaching*. The anonymous author probably read Smalridge's poem and adapted some of it to his purpose. Smalridge's satire was well known in America. The first American edition seems to be that printed and sold by Benjamin Franklin in 1739 (Evans, Vol. II, p. 147, No. 4424). A later edition, printed by Franklin, was dated 1741 (Evans, Vol. II, p. 191, No. 4807). Another edition was printed and sold by Rogers and Fowle, Boston, 1747 (Evans, Vol. II, p. 346, No. 6068). In 1762 it was again printed by Andrew Steuart in Philadelphia (Evans, Vol. III, p. 335, No. 9273).

Since notice of the anonymous *Art of Pleading* has not been taken by anyone other than Evans, and that incorrectly, it is perhaps desirable to treat this as a recovered "lost" poem and give some descrip-

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the interest of Mr. V. V. Parma of the Library of Congress for calling this item to my attention.

tion of it. The satire is preceded by a dedicatory epistle addressed "To All the Pettifoggers in New-York." With transparent sarcasm the writer announces that he will celebrate the virtues of memorable personages and add his well-deserved encomiums to their fame. Without possessing preparatory education, and avoiding the "dull drudgery of study," they have, owing to the munificence of nature, suddenly emerged "into sage and infallible oracles of the Law." They have unexampled humility of manner; they condescend to be familiar with the vulgar and take small rewards for their labors. They even save their clients the trouble of receiving from them the awards in suits for damages. He suggests in conclusion the organization of a movement "to suppress the rising generation of attorneys . . . by preventing or delaying the execution of their process."

The poem, consisting of 170 lines, is written in heroic couplets, with the rhyme and meter above average. The poet has studied Pope's manner and achieves pungency in frequent closed couplets. Horace's *Art of Poetry* is quoted in footnotes in order that parallels in the imitation may be noticed. His charge against lawyers is rather vague: there are many dunces among them, poor speakers, and some are pompous and intentionally confuse their juries.

Wou'd you perplex the Jury, change your phrase,  
And speak the Language of King Rufus' days.

In addition to the general satire of the profession, there are a few personal attacks which are disguised by the use of initials and dashes. Some friends receive praise, such as S—h, who is mentioned several times. To those who contemplate the law as a profession, he advises:

Weigh all thy Strength, thy Genius well peruse,  
And then as Nature dictates, boldly chuse.  
If she directs to Law, thine Ear incline,  
And thou at Law, undoubtedly wilt shine,  
Nor be perplex'd concerning Eloquence,  
Language will flow, when thou hast Law and Sense.

He urges young lawyers to avoid manners inconsistent with their personalities and concludes:

Ne'er shall it be my ignominious Lot,  
To court a Scoundrel, or to coax a Sot;

Never with cringing adulating Cant,  
 Cajole St. G—e, Tom Bell, or F—V—Z;  
 I read the Law with exquisite Delight,  
 Study by Day, and meditate by Night;  
 And if too low to grace the Sergeant's Table,  
 The Devil take me, if I court the Rabble.

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“WHITMAN'S” LINES ON DULUTH

THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT

*Hunter College of the City of New York*

SOME new evidence enables us to reject finally the ascription to Walt Whitman of the puzzling lines on Duluth. This poem is reprinted by Professor Holloway<sup>1</sup> from *The New Orleans Item*, April 4, 1892,<sup>2</sup> where it is prefaced by a curious introduction:

Duluth, Minn. April 4—(Special).—A fragment of a poem by the late Walt Whitman, written while in this city a year ago, is published here to-day. The good gray poet was quite impressed with Duluth, whose interests were shown him by a friend, and after leaving he sent his friend the following, which has remained unprinted until now.

Because of the impossibility of Walt's visiting Duluth in 1891, and the badness of the lines, Holloway entered a strong caveat against the authenticity of the verses. But because Whitman might have visited Duluth earlier, it was hardly possible to reject the little poem altogether from the Whitman canon.

Recently I obtained through the courtesy of Miss Ella G. Moore, Librarian of the Duluth Public Library, a copy of the original article on which the note in the *Item* was based. It is a letter, published in *The Duluth Daily News*, March 30, 1892.<sup>3</sup>

Duluth, Minn. Mch. 29, 1892

Editor Duluth Daily News,

Dear Sir:

It may not be generally known that the late “good, gray poet,” Walt Whitman, passed through Duluth on a short trip for his health during last

<sup>1</sup> *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, 1921), I, 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> P. 1, column 5; the exact date was kindly verified by Mr. R. J. Usher, Librarian of the Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans.

<sup>3</sup> P. 2.

summer, and that he formed a very high opinion of Duluth and her destiny. It will probably cause general surprise, and, if we mistake not, wide spread interest and gratification to read the following fragment of verses on Duluth, which the great poet shortly afterwards penned in the course of a letter to a friend at the head of the lakes:

DULUTH

[The poem follows]<sup>4</sup>

Respectfully yours,

MENDAX.

The correspondent of the *Item* failed to note the significance of the signature, "fallacious"—but it definitely shows the whole thing a mere joke, not even meant to deceive any save the careless reader.

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#### THE DATE OF THOMAS PAINE'S FIRST ARRIVAL IN AMERICA

FRANK SMITH

*George Washington University*

IN MY first approach to the study of Thomas Paine,<sup>1</sup> I concluded a paragraph on the date of his first arrival: "So that the present state of the matter is that Paine landed here no earlier than December 7 and no later than December 12, 1774."<sup>2</sup> While engaged in more extensive researches on Paine, I have discovered evidence which nullifies this conclusion and definitely settles this problem.

Moncure D. Conway, the standard biographer of Paine, offered no authority for the statement that Paine arrived in Philadelphia November 30, 1774.<sup>3</sup> In 1910 Albert Matthews produced evidence tending to discredit Conway's date and to put the arrival between December 7 and December 14.<sup>4</sup> By employing the same technique as Matthews, my own study narrowed the hypothetical limits to

<sup>1</sup> The *Item* omits the title, and runs line 14 of the *News* text (the single word "Anvil") as part of the line preceding; minor differences are due to misprints.

<sup>2</sup> "New light on Thomas Paine's First Year in America, 1775," *American Literature*, I, 347-371 (January, 1930).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of Thomas Paine* (2 vols., New York, 1892), I, 40.

<sup>5</sup> "Thomas Paine and the Declaration of Independence," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLIII, 245-246, n. Parrington adopted Matthews's conclusion in *Main Currents in American Thought*, I, 328. So, also, R. Blankenship, *American Literature as an Expression of the National Mind* (New York, 1931), p. 151.



December 7 and December 12.<sup>5</sup> But the final inquiry leads us back to Conway and establishes beyond reasonable doubt that he gave the exact date, November 30, 1774.

We know that Paine arrived in Philadelphia towards the end of 1774 on the London Packet, Captain Cooke.<sup>6</sup> The statement that he arrived between December 7 and December 12 was based upon finding the London Packet listed in the weekly Inward Entries of *The Pennsylvania Gazette* and *The Pennsylvania Journal* for December 14 and of *The Pennsylvania Packet* for December 12. But on December 7 *The Pennsylvania Gazette* was already announcing: "By the ship London Packet, Captain Cooke, arrived here from London, and the Earl of Halifax Packet, Capt. Boulderson, arrived at New York from Falmouth, we have the following Advices." Paine himself remarked in his letter to Washington, November 30, 1781: "It is seven years, *this day*, since I arrived in America."<sup>7</sup> We are now sure that Paine's memory was not playing him false seven years after the event. Christopher Marshall, Philadelphia merchant and patriot, noted in his diary on November 30, 1774: "This day Acct. came up to town of the Arrival of the Ship London Packet Capt. Cook from London full of Goods and near one Hundred German and English Servants."<sup>8</sup> The evidence is, then, quite conclusive that Thomas Paine landed in Philadelphia November 30, 1774.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 348-349.

<sup>6</sup> In *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* of April 30, 1776, Paine referred to himself as having come in "the London Packet, last Christmas twelve month" (Matthews, *loc. cit.*, p. 246). Also, in a letter to Franklin, March 4, 1775, he wrote: "I did not sail in the Vessel I first intended, it not having proper Conveniences, but in the London Packet, Capt. Cooke" (Franklin MSS., American Philosophical Society).

<sup>7</sup> The italics are by Paine. Conway does not refer to this letter as evidence of the date of arrival, but prints it later in another connection (*Life of Paine*, I, 178). It was most likely in Conway's mind as authority for November 30, 1774.

<sup>8</sup> This entry will not be found in the *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall* edited by William Duane (Philadelphia, 1839, 1849; Albany, 1877). I am quoting directly from the manuscript, which is preserved in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

## A LETTER TO THE EDITORS

June 4, 1931.

Editor of AMERICAN LITERATURE,  
Duke University Press,  
Durham, North Carolina.

Dear Sir:

May I object to David Cornel DeJong's review of the revised edition of *Modern American Poetry* in the March, 1931, issue? May I say, with due deference to a reviewer's privilege and point of view, that Mr. DeJong's summary is inconsistent as well as inaccurate?

For example, Mr. DeJong objects to the subtitle, "A Critical Anthology," maintaining that the adjective should have been *comprehensive* rather than *critical*. Yet in the same paragraph, Mr. DeJong seems to imply that my notes on some of the poets are not sufficiently wholehearted and enthusiastic. Furthermore, your reviewer not only implies but states the fact that the inclusion of some of the younger writers is either due to a change of critical judgment or that I was "simply induced by prevalent, popular opinion to include them." The charge here is so general—and, I insist, so unfair—that I find myself with an embarrassment of replies. I have said elsewhere that if I were to define my position it would be that of a "centrist," leaning at times somewhat to the right, at times slightly to the left. That attitude admits of a possible change in taste—and I do not think it necessary to apologize for the fact that in five years even an editor may show some sign of growth.

But when Mr. DeJong names the ten or eleven poets who are included in the revised edition "simply by prevalent, popular opinion," I am touched on the raw. The plain fact is that I have been enthusiastic about at least eight of the ten from the beginning, and that the only reason they did not appear in the previous editions was that, in 1920 and 1924, they had published either no volumes or only a small amount of uncollected work. To be immodestly personal, I have been accused of over-excitement about three of the poets ever since they first appeared on the horizon, and it was through my efforts that the first volume of Merrill Moore and the second (and most recent) book by James Whaler were published.

One more slight demurrer. Mr. DeJong finds fault with me for leaving out six of the more "radical" poets. It is true that he adds, "since Mr. Untermeyer in his foreword, foresaw possible criticism on exclusions, it may hardly be fair to name them at all." Nevertheless, at least one of Mr. DeJong's six *is* included; and if Mr. DeJong will take the trouble to re-examine my volume, he will find, on pages 521-525, five poems by Marianne (not Marrienne) Moore.

Thanking you for allowing this rebuttal, I am

Very truly yours,

LOUIS UNTERMAYER.

## BOOK REVIEWS

A LITERARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Charles Angoff.  
Volumes I and II. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5 per volume.

As explained by the author, the complete history is to be in four volumes: Volume I covering the period from the beginnings to 1750; Volume II advancing the history to 1815; Volume III advancing it to 1890; and Volume IV, completing the history to the present time. Volumes III and IV are yet to come.

The first impression made by the volumes is decidedly in their favor. In format, print, paper, binding, and all that goes to mechanical excellence there has never been a history of American literature to compare with it. Proudly the publisher announces that the volumes were "set on the linotype in Caslon long descenders and printed on a natural egg-shell wove paper." Abundantly has he furnished this *de luxe* paper. For extra paging and for interleaving between chapters nearly fifty blank pages in Volume II are used, or one-eighth of the whole volume.

Abundance of footnotes gives an impression of scholarly basis. Unquestionably the author has handled a veritable library of histories of American literature, of biographies, and individual studies of men and periods, but it has not been with scholarship. It is like the work of a student who has crammed the subject for examination and has disgorged it without digestion. Volume I is built upon a trivial thesis:

"It is thus a question whether it is worth while to write the history of colonial literature, since there really was none. . . . As time goes on . . . the scribbling of the first 125 years will be relegated more and more to the background, to take its place finally in a brief and apologetic introductory chapter. In the meantime it is necessary to treat it at greater length, if only to prove its badness"—one-fourth of his work expended simply to prove that the worthless is worthless; nine pages devoted to Jonathan Mayhew, every possible little poetical peeper given his page and even his chapter. And what of the volumes to follow? If one devotes one-twentieth of his whole first volume to Cotton Mather and one-eighth of his second volume to "the Connecticut wits," what space is he to have in his third volume for Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Longfellow, Emerson, Thoreau, Whittier, Holmes, Whitman, Lowell, Mark Twain, Howells, James, and the whole group who wrote after the Civil War and before 1890? All must go into a single volume—one bound to be a veritable monstrosity.

There is no originality in the volumes, little perspective, no sense of proportion, and scant stylistic excellence. It is an anthology largely of worst specimens with encyclopaedia-like biographical introductions made up from the work of diligent professors of literature in colleges—a breed he professes to despise.

Haste and slap-dashery are everywhere evident. On a single page I find this: Dennie was on the staff of *The Farmer's Weekly Magazine*: it should be *The Farmer's Weekly Museum*. "Asbury Dukes" should be Asbury Dickens. *The Port Folio* ran till Dennie's "death in 1812," he says, and "it passed out shortly thereafter." As a matter of fact, it ran until 1827. Dennie he declares ran *The Port Folio* as "a medium to attack the Federal Constitution, which he did with great vigor." Dennie, to be sure, wrote often and bitterly against the principle of democracy, but I find no attacks upon the Constitution itself. The fundamental thing about *The Port Folio* was its stand for real literature. It was a powerful influence in a feeble time, but of this our author says nothing. He declares in a footnote that Clapp's volume (1880) is "the only biographical sketch of Dennie," wholly ignorant of the scholarly work of H. M. Ellis (1915). So much for a single page. One might multiply examples of error.

Of Charles Brockden Brown: "The last time his books were printed was in 1827." An edition was issued in 1887. He says the novels are "all laid in New York," and then seven lines later of *Wieland*, "The scene of the action is the banks of the Schuylkill." Philip Freneau is made to edit *The "Nautical" Gazette* instead of *The National Gazette*. His five editions, he declares, "contain little of his newspaper poems." As a matter of fact, they contain *all* of them.

Even his anthology specimens are frequently misquoted, as for example in Freneau's "The Wild Honey Suckle,"

"Thy days declining to repose"

becomes

"The days declining to repose"

In the "Indian Burying Ground"

"To shadows and delusions here"

becomes

"To shades and delusions."

and in his version of "On a Honey Bee Drinking" "trouble" becomes "troubles." And so one might go on, and on. But enough. It needs only

to be said that a most drastic revision is necessary before the volumes can be used with confidence. And even then why use them? What can be their value to student or reader? In the meantime I await with apprehension the advent of the monstrous Volume III. The prospect is not a thing for humor; it is too serious for laughter.

*Rollins College.*

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

THE NEW AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1890-1930: A SURVEY. By Fred Lewis Pattee. New York and London: The Century Company. 1930. \$3.50.

The literary historian faces no task more exacting than that of writing the history of contemporary literature, since it presents constantly the most acute problems of selection, organization, proportion, and evaluation. For historians of earlier periods, most of these problems have in large measure already been solved. Time, the whirligig of taste, and the industry of earlier workers have already determined, not only what writers are worth consideration but also what patterns may be imposed most easily on the literary phenomena in question. Without the support of traditional approval or disapproval, the historian of contemporary literature must hazard an individual evaluation of a host of writers with whom he may or may not find himself in sympathy.

And yet it is of the greatest importance that contemporary literature should be treated historically. Despite the discouraging fact that every age has made outrageous errors in its judgments of men of letters, despite the tremendous difficulty in seeing a comprehensible design in a process that is working itself out before one's very eyes, a critic's studied reflection of his own age is invaluable, not so much for his own time as for the future. In consequence, Professor Pattee is to be heartily congratulated on the tremendous courage and industry with which he has attacked the problems involved in writing the history of American literature since 1890.

Professor Pattee's solution of the primary problem of selection depends intimately upon his conception of what constitutes American literature. His approach to literature is sociological rather than æsthetic, quantitative rather than qualitative. He is interested in such writing as reflects the tastes and ideals of the uncultivated reading public rather than those of a restricted and fastidious aristocracy of culture. It is undoubtedly a consequence of this social quantitative estimate of literature that he gives twenty-three pages to Jack London, nineteen pages to O. Henry, six pages to Edwin Arlington Robinson, dismisses T. S. Eliot as the "leading eccentric of the period" (p. 385), and places as rare a talent and spirit as Elinor Wylie among the "uninspired versifiers" (p. 388). It is Professor Pattee's

essentially folksy conception of American literature that leads him to assert that "no history of *American* literature can avoid" (p. 473) Harold Bell Wright, and that to sneer at Eddie Guest is "to sneer at America itself, for the great average reader loves him, and reads him, and quotes him" (p. 491). But even the most generous inclusiveness hardly justifies devoting ten pages to Lafcadio Hearn, who cannot by the farthest stretch of fact or imagination be regarded as American. The treatment of Morley Callaghan (pp. 461-463) as an American novelist may be a slip, but to add the Canadian "In Flanders Fields" to the mass of horrific American war poetry seems gratuitous. There are, however, strange omissions. There is no indication that the period in question has seen a brilliant renaissance in the drama. Eugene O'Neill does not appear even in a footnote.

Professor Pattee has increased the difficulty of imposing a pattern on contemporary American literature by his omnibus conception of it. In point of fact, he has only half-heartedly attempted to organize his vast quantities of material into a fluent and lucid design. In so far as he furnishes a key to the labyrinth, it may be found in his thesis that American literature of the last generation demonstrates the rise of the Middle West to literary articulateness and distinction and the consequent submergence of the effete East, the coming to expression of rural America and the decadence of journalism and letters in New England and New York City, which, Professor Pattee asserts, "originates nothing" (p. 481). It would be interesting and amusing to write the history of contemporary American literature from this rather naïve anti-urban, anti-Eastern point of view, but Professor Pattee has not written it. He has been unable to write it, for the simple reason that the facts do not fit the theory. It is impossible to connect the poetry, essay, drama, or biography of the past generation with the disappearance of the frontier or the agonies of the sufferers from the "deadly disease" of urban existence. Consequently, the book remains a series of disconnected essays rather than a consecutive history or argument.

For the historian of contemporary literature, the most exacting test is that of taste, the ultimate basis of his evaluations. It is natural perhaps that Professor Pattee should be at his best in his analysis and estimation of such widely influential and spectacular figures as O. Henry, Jack London, and H. L. Mencken, who, whatever their services in providing fodder for the aesthetically dispossessed, have nothing to do with literature in the discriminatory sense of the word. On the whole, Professor Pattee's score on taste is not very high. He is led into frequent bad judgments, not only by his essentially quantitative conception of literature but by the failure of

his powers of insight and sympathy in the face of the newer movements in literature and the work of spiritually aristocratic and individual artists. His easy identification of what is widely read with what is important appears in his statements that "in many ways perhaps the most remarkable personality produced during the whole period since 1890, was Jack London" (p. 121), and that no other poet of recent times is "so completely the master of technique in all its phases" as Arthur Guiterman (p. 493). His distaste for the cryptically individual expression of Emily Dickinson is obvious in his assertion that already "it is seen that the enduring part of her poetry is embedded in much that is childish, much that must be dismissed as jingling nonsense" (p. 199). His failure to understand post-war realism is apparent in his unfortunate comments on the school of Hemingway. "Realism and literary license have been pressed to extremes by such writers as Ernest Hemingway who have deliberately violated every canon of the old handbooks and even the elementary rules of grammar. Literary scandal, like all other scandal, is tremendously arresting, but it is brief. The real artist does not flaunt himself, nor pose, nor perform bad-boy tricks for sensation in the presence of dignity, nor does he deliberately place strangeness and sex uncleanness and grotesque newness among his leading artistic canons" (pp. 326-327). His remark that Edna Millay "has degenerated into mere cleverness" (p. 309) is, on the eve of the appearance of *Fatal Interview*, sheer bad luck.

I have noted the following misprints or slips: page 6, *for even read* ever; page 92, *for John Rogers Clarke read* George Rogers Clarke; page 156, *for The Novels of Sinclair Lewis read* The Novels of Upton Sinclair; page 220, *for Impluse read* Impulse; page 234, *for E. M. Howe read* E. W. Howe; page 317, *for Old read* Ole; page 469, *for Polyannaism read* Pollyannaism; page 263, *for exclusively finished read* exquisitely finished (?). There are a few misstatements. Robert Herrick (p. 31) was not called "to organize the English Department" of the University of Chicago. The "Purple Cow" (p. 195) was not a "pamphlet periodical" of the nineties. It is hardly a fact that Harriet Monroe "has been in her own work conservative and regular" (p. 210). Lindsay and Frost (p. 277) had not been "publishing poetry for years" before the appearance of *Poetry* in 1912. The title of Ezra Pound's anthology (p. 304) is *Des Imagistes: An Anthology*. Amy Lowell (p. 305) published not eight, but nine volumes of verse. It is inaccurate to describe Joyce Kilmer's "Trees" as a "poetic fragment" (p. 392). Van Wyck Brooks (p. 456) does not have a Ph.D. degree from Harvard. Mrs. Wharton's *Ethan Frome* (p. 463) is not always "reckoned as a short story." There is considerable carelessness in



the transcription of citations. In the Imagist manifesto (p. 284) I have noted the following slips: *for* the exact word *read* the *exact* word; *for* nearly exact *read* nearly-exact; *for* as a principle of liberty *read* as for a principle of liberty; *for* (hence the name: Imagist) *read* (hence the name: "Imagist"). More than forty citations have no more elaborate means of identification than the author's name.

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FRED B. MILLETT.

AMERICAN BROADSIDE VERSE FROM IMPRINTS OF THE 17TH & 18TH CENTURIES. Selected and edited, with an introductory note, by Ola Elizabeth Winslow. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. xxvi, 224 pp.

EARLY AMERICAN POETRY A COMPILATION OF THE TITLES OF VOLUMES OF VERSE AND BROADSIDES BY WRITERS BORN OR RESIDING IN NORTH AMERICA NORTH OF THE MEXICAN BORDER. By Oscar Wegelin. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Peter Smith. 1930. 253 pp.

Professor Winslow's selection from such seventeenth and eighteenth century American verse as chanced to find its way to the public through the medium of the broadside and Mr. Wegelin's tentative list of all kinds of American verse publications from 1650 to 1820, are both welcome signs of a growing interest in our literary beginnings. The literary (and sub-literary) types with which these volumes confront us have commonly enough been consigned to oblivion, along with other writings of our seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in one convenient generalization, often by critics obviously little acquainted with what they condemned. It does not seem likely that any amount of study will raise many of our early American writings to the rank of classics. But such books as Professor Winslow's and Mr. Wegelin's will at least make the task of becoming acquainted with our first two centuries somewhat less laborious and so may serve to encourage more intelligent criticism. And unless we are afflicted with the narrowness of mind that sees nothing worth while for the special student of our literary history in any production that cannot be recommended to undergraduates as a classic or as a guide to right living, we may find even in a collection of broadsides some interesting reflections of the men and manners of an earlier day and even some significant signs of the forces that molded contemporary writings of a less humble order.

## I

As Professor Winslow herself remarks, both impulse and guidance have been given to the comparatively new interest in American broadsides by Ford's *Broadsides, Ballads &c. Printed in Massachusetts 1639-1800*, a check-list which necessarily emphasizes the place and manner of publication. It is probably due partly to this guidance that the study of broadsides has so far been almost as much a study of early printing as of the social, political, or literary significance of these materials, and it may be partly for the same reason that the geographical selection of ballads in Professor Winslow's book is somewhat more narrow than even the comparative scarcity of materials outside New England would warrant. Aside from the Ford list, however, there have been some other important contributions to the study of these fugitive pieces, both American and English, that have helped to prepare the way for the present volume; and it should at least be noted that Professor John W. Draper's *A Century of Broadside Elegies* (1928), an anthology of English and Scotch broadsides with introduction and notes, published in an impressive format, afforded a satisfactory model of which Professor Winslow and the Yale University Press seem to have made wise use.

*American Broadside Verse* contains facsimile reproductions of a hundred and one broadsides. All except one, which is used as a frontispiece, are grouped according to subject-matter: twenty-nine are "Funeral Verses and Memorials"; seven are "Meditations upon Portentous Events"; fifteen are "Dying Confessions and Warnings against Crime"; twenty-three are "War-Time Ballads and Marching Songs"; six are "Comments on Local Incident"; thirteen are "Admonitions and Timely Preachments"; and seven are "New Year's Greetings." The groups themselves fall roughly into chronological order, and within each group the order is intended to be as strictly chronological as evidence regarding dates permits. Not quite one-tenth of the whole belong to the seventeenth century. Approximately the same proportion, at least, have appeared in facsimile in earlier publications; but the editor is probably justified in using these again, for some of them are of unusual interest and earlier facsimiles are not always easy of access. No doubt the range of interest in surviving broadsides (which may well be only a small fraction of those actually issued) is narrow enough, and it is unfortunate that so few of the foolish songs and ballads about which Cotton Mather complained in his diary have come down to us. And yet many broadsides not included in Professor Winslow's book were available and it seems possible that she might have provided a more pleasing and significant variety. Perhaps

there is some reason of which I am not aware why a piece of the quality of Fessenden's *Jonathan's Courtship*, suggestive of Lowell and surely superior to any attempt at humor in this sheaf of broadsides, should have been omitted, for I cannot think that the doubt which remains regarding the date of its first appearance in broadside is serious enough to rule it out. If the plan of the collection had been expanded to include broadsides written in America but printed in Europe, it would have been possible to make use of so unusual and interesting a composition as Jacob Steendam's *Klacht van Nieuw-Amsterdam*, printed in old Amsterdam in 1659; and this would also have had the virtue of being, almost the earliest imprint in the volume.

Yet the collection as actually constituted includes much of interest. Several of the known authors represented were, indeed, talented enough to achieve literary fame in other ways. Franklin's lost or unidentified ballads (probably printed as broadsides) do not appear among the facsimiles, nor are they mentioned in the brief introductory study. But Benjamin Tompson's *The Grammarians Funeral*, more ingenious than poetic, and *A Neighbour's Tears* are here; and Samuel Sewall is represented both by his dull lines on the drying up of the Merrimac River and by his rather dignified prayer for New Year's Day, 1701, though, the editor notes, there is some doubt about the propriety of including the latter imprint in a group of broadsides. Phillis Wheatley, George Whitefield, Francis Hopkinson and David Humphreys<sup>1</sup> are some of the better-known authors among many who are quite unknown.

Professor Winslow seems to regard the anthology as especially noteworthy for its illustration of the growing spirit of nationality in America, whose roots were in local loyalties such as are displayed in some of the earliest broadsides. At times, however, the local loyalties seem to have developed into a mild kind of sectional prejudice, as in the amusing

<sup>1</sup>No. 94 presents an interesting problem. The editor states that this broadside contains "both paraphrase and quotation of selected lines and passages from Colonel David Humphreys' *A Poem on Industry*, Philadelphia, October 14, 1794." But she fails to note the significant facts that Humphreys published ten years later, in an edition of his collected works, a very different version of this production under the title of "A Poem on the Industry of the United States of America" and that the first seventy-six of the ninety-eight lines of the broadside tally almost word for word with lines in the 1804 edition but differ widely from the text of 1794. It seems probable, then, though not certain, that the broadside was mostly derived, either by Humphreys himself (who could not have been averse to practical propaganda in favor of the use of American manufactures, particularly of woolen goods) or by an extremely liberal borrower, from the 1804 volume and was therefore not published before that date. Internal evidence would tend to show that the broadside did not appear before 1797, for lines 7 ff. differ from the 1794 version, and even from the 1804 version, in awkwardly avoiding allusion to Washington as presiding over the destinies of the nation and in making what was originally written in his honor apply to Congress instead.

compound of news and sermonizing in both verse and prose called *A True and Particular Narrative of the Late Tremendous Tornado, or Hurricane, at Philadelphia and New-York, on Sabbath-Day, July 1, 1792*, which is mainly a New Englander's improvement of the story of how thirty New Yorkers "(taking their Pleasure on that SACRED DAY) were unhappily drowned in NEPTUNE's raging and tempestous Element!!!!!!!" As one of the few examples of conscious humor in the volume, *Father Abbey's Will* does service, though the editor justly remarks that the publication of this doggerel in two of the London magazines must have caused comment unfavorable to the American genius—"No wonder the American bard had a reputation to live down as well as one to achieve." To the statement in the "Introductory Note" that the Father Abbey piece "has been reprinted time after time as lonely evidence for the existence of a sense of humor as early as 1731" it might well have been added, however, that this is far from being any such "lonely evidence" and is, indeed, if one does not limit the field to broadsides, rather one of the worst than one of the best examples of humor in early colonial literature.

For the rest, there are among these broadsides a number that deserve special notice because of their unusual quality or because of their significance as illustrations of literary modes. *Capt. Paul Jones's Victory* recounts a story with vigor not ill suited to its subject. *A Brief Narrative, or Poem*, recounting the adventure of the Tilton brothers with the Indians in 1722, is notable for rapid narrative as well as for the sufficiently robust realism of such lines as these:

And tho' they had from these blood-thirsty hounds  
Received many dismal stabs and wounds,  
While in their skirmish blood was up and hot,  
No more than Flea bites them they minded not.  
Said *Daniel* still retain'd his splitting knife,  
Who nimbly ply'd the same and fit for life;  
With one hand fended off the Indian blows,  
And with the other cross the face and nose  
Of Captain *Sam*, until his pagan head,  
Was chop'd and gash'd, and so much mangled;  
Bits of his Indian scalp hung down in strings,  
And blood run pouring thence as out of springs.

The same broadside is remarkable for its use of what purports to be the broken English of the Indian, reminding the reader of a similar striking passage in Tompson's *New-England Crisis of 1676* and of the March verses in the Ames almanac for 1730, noticed by Professor Krapp in his chapter on literary dialects in *The English Language in America*. An

interesting revival of an old form is to be found in Peter St. John's *A Dialogue between Flesh and Spirit*, but standard literary types of earlier centuries have had, in general, little influence. Of the vogue of the pastoral, strongly marked in some eighteenth century American writers—particularly in the Philadelphia group—there are but slight traces to be found in these broadsides. More notable still is the lack of evidence of any considerable knowledge or appreciation of the old English and Scottish traditional ballads. There are a few faint suggestions of the coming of newer literary fashions, and especially of the romantic enthusiasm for nature. In this respect, as well as in other ways, *A Journal of the Survey of the Narragansett Bay, and Parts Adjacent, Taken in the Months of May and June, A. D. 1741*, is among the best of the broadsides. The author, supposed to be William Chandler, proves his enjoyment of landscapes and especially of trees in such lines as these:

Here neighbouring Orchards in their verdant Blooms  
The gentle Air sweetens with their Perfumes;  
Which pleasing Prospect did attract our sight  
And charm'd our Sense of smelling with Delight.

\* \* \* \* \*

But on this shore we turn'd a while to rove,  
And went to *Vials* and walk'd thro' his Grove.  
This charming Place was neat and clean, a Breeze  
Attend the shade made by black Cherry Trees,  
On either side a Row of large extent  
And nicely shading every step We went:  
Methinks young Lovers here with open Arms  
Need no young Cupids to inspire their Charms,  
For what can raise the Nymphs or Swains to love  
In sweet Caresses, sooner than this Grove.

\* \* \* \* \*

Upon this Mount the wandering Eye may gaze  
On distant Floods, as well as neighbouring Bays  
Where with one Glance appears Ten Thousand Charms  
With fruitful Islands, and most fertile Farms.

On the other hand, the old neo-classical attitude toward the wilder aspects of nature is evident in the contemptuous description of mountains in the bitter verses leveled at Governor Bernard, and in the same broadside there is an equally unfavorable allusion to the recently published Ossianic poems, which were destined to play an important part in the Romantic Movement. And perhaps the most characteristic use, or abuse, of nature in the broadsides is to be found in the verses that exploit, often with religious or moral purpose, such popular marvels as an eclipse or an earthquake, or in verses like Sewall's *Upon the Drying up of that Ancient River, the River Merrymak*, where nature is little more than a mere cat-

alogue (though even this might have been of value to Thoreau in *A Week*, had he known it, for he knew how to make the most of the old colonial flavor of the humblest of the early chronicles). After all, the chief value of the broadsides is in the light they throw on social and political conditions and on the manner of men of their time. And their importance in this respect is too plain to need comment here.

It would be possible to quarrel with Professor Winslow for citing her authority perhaps too seldom in her introduction and notes; for using space to explain such rather obvious allusions as *pelican* and *loadstone* (No. 2) and *Stentor* (No. 37) but omitting any very serious study of authorship even so far as it is known; and for making such minor slips as the repeated reference to the Countess of *Huntington* (No. 24) and the statement that Francis Hopkinson was a graduate of Princeton (No. 73). But it is obvious that the editor has presented her text in a way which we might well wish possible for all texts intended to preserve the original accurately and that she has done very useful work in preparing a book which should make her materials attractive to any reader at all capable of using them.

## II

Scholars are already acquainted with Mr. Wegelin's lists of early American poetry as they were published by him over a quarter of a century ago and are grateful for the labor of love which has resulted in practical guides not only to poetry but to other types of early American writings. Into the present volume he has brought the two divisions—from 1650 to 1799 and from 1800 to 1820—but has allowed them to remain distinct. New titles are added; but it is not surprising to find an undertaking of such great difficulty still very far from complete. The compiler has, indeed, encountered many difficulties which remain to annoy the student who goes to this useful volume for guidance. The titles are not often accurate in such details as spelling and punctuation and sometimes not in wording. The line division, which is indicated in most of the titles, is often incomplete, and in a goodly number of titles does not appear at all, so that, as usual, the question arises whether the attempt to mark line endings might not better have been given up altogether. Many titles included seem to have been taken from other sources than the title-pages but, as is also unfortunately often the case in Evans's monumental work, without any indication of the sources actually used. The references to libraries, as in Evans, are fitful and seem to follow no very definite rule, for even the record of the titles to be found in the Harris Collection at Brown University is anything but complete. Perhaps a

description of signatures would have been a proper addition to the list of titles issued before 1800, but it is clear that the preparation of such a formal bibliographical account would have increased vastly the already sufficiently great difficulties in the way and the same thing might be said in explanation of the failure to include a list of books and pamphlets mainly in prose but containing important sections of verse. Yet in spite of its many obvious faults, this volume is of so much practical value that no serious student of American literature before 1821 can well afford to be without it.

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RALPH L. RUSK.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. By Henry Walcott Boynton. New York: The Century Company. 1931. xvi, 408 pp. \$5.00.

Mr. Boynton has written a biography with the design of winning popular respect, perhaps even liking, for Cooper the man. Having learned as a reviewer something of what the public wants, the biographer gives his book an agreeable, familiar tone. Chapter titles and head-quotations are neatly chosen; opportunities for amiable humor are rarely overlooked; the style is informal and easy; and such colloquialisms as "scunner," "flapdoodle," "dicker," "hifalutin" aid in building up an atmosphere of homely vigor. The author, however, probably errs in introducing current slang, for the average reader may suspect condescension in such expressions as "got an immense thrill," "keen about it," "the sort who never 'click'," "crazy about," and "pepped up." Despite this evident desire to reach a wide audience, Mr. Boynton resists the persistent temptation to attain easy popularity by transforming biography into fiction; and all honor is due him for his firm resolution. Likewise, he does not attempt to palm off imaginative passages in the novels as authentic autobiography. (It is painful to imagine what a nightmare might have been made of Cooper's life by a writer endowed with the simple credulity exercised by Mr. Lewis Mumford when he incorporated in his biography of Melville large sections of the novel *Redburn*.) And when Mr. Boynton indulges in speculation, he frankly announces that he is about to deal with "might-have-beens."

The early chapters of the biography, covering the years to 1819, are excellently done. For the first time, the significance in Cooper's life of the Otsego country is fully demonstrated. (It must be pointed out, in passing, that Mr. Boynton, although admitting that "The Coopers were immune from the worst rigors of pioneer life," usually inclines to a

romantic rather than a rational interpretation of Cooper's early environment. Likewise, ignoring both the novelist's assertion that he knew the Indian only at second hand and Mr. Gregory Paine's illuminating study of Cooper and Heckewelder, he maintains that Cooper was able to "sketch the red man from life." Again, the early nautical career of James Cooper is skilfully reconstructed from the memoirs of *Ned Myers*, edited by the novelist himself. Colorful new material is presented in the narrative of Squire Cooper's life in Westchester. Finally, the writing, publication, and significance of *Precaution* and *The Spy* are presented in rich detail. The middle portion of the biography is less successful. In dealing with Cooper in Europe, Mr. Boynton, possibly fearful lest he become hopelessly entangled in the great mass of material available in Cooper's letters, journals, and published sketches, passes in summary fashion through the events of 1826-33. The only exception is the financial controversy of 1831-2, which has been handled even more elaborately by Mr. Robert Spiller in *American Literature*. Although lucid accounts of the Three Mile Point Controversy and the newspaper libel suits are given, Cooper the critic of America is drawn only faintly. Certain of his doctrines, it is true, may be found in Mr. Boynton's summary of one small volume, *The American Democrat*; but the highly revelatory *Monikins* is condensed into four lines and no analysis is attempted of that amazing storehouse of opinion and prejudice, *Home as Found*. Unless a man's deeply rooted notions of society and politics have no significance in a study of his personality, this portion of the book is distinctly inadequate. In writing of Cooper's declining years, Mr. Boynton is entirely at ease. While skeptics may demand more evidence than the biographer offers, those who know Cooper will be happy to believe that in old age he was not without honor in Coopers-town, that his friends remained staunch, and that his family relationships were ever close and warm.

Examined in the light of the author's purpose, the book is a definite success, for Mr. Boynton will convince the unbiased reader that Cooper possessed sufficient defects to make him human and sufficient courage to lift him at moments to the heroic. Thus the public is offered a more sharply delineated and at the same time a more authentic portrait than may be found in any earlier biography. Mr. Boynton, therefore, will probably not be concerned if students of American literature disagree with his shading or coloring, or find flaws in his workmanship. It may be observed, then, that those who are particularly interested in Cooper would have been grateful had the biographer confined himself less closely to the material ready to his hand. Contemporary memoirs and travels



are now and then drawn upon, but their resources are in the main unexplored. Nor is Cooper's literary reputation carefully studied, save in so far as it may be (dubiously) reconstructed from his correspondence. As for the matter actually employed, it is commonly, but not always handled in competent fashion.

The quotations from *Ned Myers* show some deviations from the first edition: *accepted* becomes *accompanied* (Boynton, p. 36); *out* becomes *on* (p. 37); *that of* is omitted (p. 38); *ordered our helm hard up* becomes . . . *hard down* (p. 40). It is impossible to check the hitherto unpublished letters with the manuscripts; but Mr. Boynton's versions of published letters agree, except for trivial variations, with the *Correspondence*. (An odd slip is the reproduction of a note printed in 1922 in the *Correspondence*, as "An unpublished letter about The Spy and the Enoch Crosby myth.") Proper use is at last made of Cooper's remarkable prefaces. Curiously enough, however, Mr. Boynton remarks "that there is no evidence" that the novelist knew Brockden Brown's novels, when, in reality, Cooper wrote as follows in the original preface to *The Spy*:

As there has been but one writer of this description [a native novelist] hitherto, a new candidate for literary honors of this kind would be compared with that one, and unfortunately he is not the rival that every man would select. Then, although the English critics not only desire, but invite works that will give an account of American manners, we are sadly afraid they mean nothing but Indian manners; we are apprehensive that the same palate which can relish the cave scene in Edgar Huntly, because it contains an American, a savage, a wild cat, and a tomahawk, in a conjunction that never did, nor ever will occur—will revolt at descriptions here. . . .

It is not easy to determine how fully Mr. Boynton has drawn upon "the great body of family letters and books and documents" to which he has had access; but apparently the cream of the collection has been skimmed. What might still be done with financial documents, which the biographer admits he has examined only in cursory fashion, unprinted family letters, and the correspondence addressed to Cooper, is problematical. Finally, objection may be entered against certain methods employed in the volume. Chronology, for example, is flouted, dates are omitted, and time is so disregarded as to permit of such expressions as Cooper's "year or two," "then or a little later," and the like. Generalizations are made on the evidence of a single witness: the unique Willis is allowed to speak for all American travellers concerning Cooper in Europe and that extreme Romanticist, Dana (at one time almost a literary outcast in New England) is made spokesman for all the Yankees. Derogation of American authors from Percival to Irving and Bryant, and from Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, and Whitman to Mark Twain is employed to brighten Cooper's fame by contrast. Thus academic readers—for whom the biography was

not written—may be inclined to apply to it Mr. Boynton's description of Lounsbury's volume: "a good book, but not conceivably to be taken as the last word."

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TREMAINE McDOWELL.

ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK STAGE. By George C. D. Odell. Volumes V, VI, and VII. New York: The Columbia University Press. 1931.

As these impressive additions to the most complete history of any stage devoted to the English drama issue from the press, the magnitude of Dr. Odell's task becomes more and more apparent. For these three volumes, of over six hundred pages each, carry the record only from 1843 to 1865. But the brevity of the time is more than atoned for by the wide variety of information. Dr. Odell has not contented himself with recording the performances in the "legitimate" theatre. He has included also the opera, concerts, museum exhibitions, variety performances, and the plays given at the French and the German theaters. In short, it is a complete account of the way New York City amused itself. For the social historian it is invaluable; for the students of the theater and the opera, it is indispensable.

Volume V begins with the New York theater at one of its lowest periods. The historian, however, is not discouraged, for if we were to believe the contemporary records there has never been a time from the days of the Hallams and their predecessors to the present moment, when the American stage has not been in ruins. So we watch with interest the growing panorama as Dr. Odell unfolds the story of each year's activities at the different theaters. This, by the way, is a much better plan than that pursued by Allston Brown, who followed each theater from the beginning to its doom. For while the different theaters had their own characteristics, these become less and less important, as theaters multiply. Our interest lies in the most significant performances of great actors in great plays. As students of the theater and drama we wish, above all, complete indices and here Dr. Odell meets the requirements fully. Every play is indexed for each performance, and, blessed saving of time, the places in which the casts are given are also indicated. Anyone who has worked with the histories of Ireland and Brown knows what this means.

The most lasting impression the volumes make is that of accuracy. Dr. Odell has not only searched the daily newspapers but he has also checked these slippery sources with playbills, memoirs, and printed biog-

raphies, so that one can depend upon his dates as being correct. And to find a date correct in a theatrical history is a refreshing experience.

But the history is not only accurate. It is also readable, and by graphic means and a sense for paragraphing he calls our attention to the most important events. Beginning with 1843 we are told of the visits of Macready, after seventeen years' absence, his egotism, and the laying of the foundations for his later trouble with Forrest. It was the day when these two actors divided with J. H. Hackett and J. W. Wallack the elder, the supremacy of the New York stage. Here we find too the complete establishment of negro minstrelsy. Interesting figures are given from time to time concerning the prices of seats. In 1843 the best seats at the Park Theatre were fifty cents while the Bowery had a limit of half as much. Concerts and lectures were evidently popular, to the detriment, of course, of the theater. The season of 1844-45 witnessed the production of Mrs. Mowatt's *Fashion* and her debut as an actress. Dr. Odell hardly does justice, incidentally, to the vitality of *Fashion*, judging it evidently from the rather absurd burlesque production given in New York in 1924. Played as straight comedy it has a perennial appeal. I well remember how the audience which witnessed the first act at the American Drama Matinee in 1917 audibly requested the management to proceed with the remainder of the play and forget the rest of the program. The day when Mrs. Mowatt showed the public of the United States and that of Great Britain that a gentlewoman could act with success and could preserve her artistic and personal integrity in a profession even then frowned upon by a large part of the community, marked an epoch in the history of the theater. Dr. Odell next brings vividly before us such interesting occurrences as the "Floating Theatre" which operated upon the North River just like a showboat on the Mississippi.

Across the theater of the late forties go the figures of Charles Kean, E. L. Davenport, Forrest, Charles Burke, and others. The struggles of Simpson, the manager, to keep the Park alive are tragic, but I think Dr. Odell hardly emphasizes sufficiently the lesson which Hamblin at the Bowery was teaching, that the production of plays like Bannister's *Putnam*, which ran for seventy-eight nights and which was only one of many plays dealing with American history, pointed the way to success. It is not that *Putnam* was such a good play, but it was quite as good as much of the outworn British drama Simpson was producing, and the New York audiences saw in it something that appealed to them as Americans. This whole period is studded with names of plays upon American themes

which are not extant, but whose very number reveals to how great an extent audiences liked them.

With the closing of the Park Theatre in June, 1848, Dr. Odell marks the end of one era in the theater and the beginning of a new order. The Broadway, Burton's, Mitchell's Olympic, the Astor Place Opera House, rose into prominence and a vivid picture is given of the Astor Place riots, in which the rivalry of Forrest and Macready cost twenty-two people their lives. This was the era of the "Fireman plays" in which F. S. Chanfrau made such a hit as "Mose" the fireman. W. E. Burton had come on from Philadelphia to become one of the great forces in comedy, Charlotteushman had returned from London, the third Joseph Jefferson was playing a minor part in his half-brother's production of *Rip Van Winkle*. Dr. Odell points with pride to the imposing list of native American actors, in 1850, who were gradually challenging the supremacy of the foreign stars. But to the student of American literature the production of George Boker's delightful comedy, *The Betrothal*, in 1850, heralding Boker's arrival on the New York stage, is of even more significance. During the fifties we come to the spectacular success of G. L. Aiken's version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, to live even until today, while other dramatizations failed; the beginning of Wallack's Lyceum, the coming of the Boucicaults, to have such an effect upon the drama and the theater, the growing recognition of Edwin Booth, the establishment of Laura Keane's Theatre, pledged to the encouragement of native playwrights, and the continued production of plays which dramatized contemporary events. I am a bit puzzled by Dr. Odell's statement, "Davenport sank to his lowest in bringing out a piece of timely interest, entitled *The Mormons*." *The Mormons*, by Thomas Dunn English, is no great play, but the basic idea, that of a Tammany alderman who goes out to Salt Lake City, to teach the Mormons how to conduct their politics, only to find he is a child in their hands, and to have thirteen wives "sealed" upon him, is fundamentally comic.

Dr. Odell rightly indicates the passing of the old order in the late fifties. The panic of 1857 had something to do with the decline of the theater but there had been panics before. It was really more profound a change and was due to no one cause. Dr. Odell has the reserve of the scientific historian—he gives the facts, and while he occasionally summarizes the periods and speculates upon the reasons for the changes, I wish he had given more of his general conclusions. For no one living can visualize as he can, the great sweep of the history of the New York theater. Perhaps he sees too clearly the many threads that make up theatrical his-

tory to hazard more generalizations. Certainly he shows how the long runs of Boucicault's plays, the prevalence of dramatized novels, always a bad thing for the drama, dominate the theater of the early sixties. He shows, too, how the Civil War really interfered little with the theater, how soon New Yorkers were spending lavishly while the men at the front were giving their lives. And at the end of the period he indicates the beginning of a new era, the rise of Augustin Daly,—but that is another story. To him the great event of the period 1859-1865 is the rise of Wallack's Theatre to unquestioned supremacy. He attributes this not only to the fine acting of Wallack's company, but to Lester Wallack's devotion to the English Comedy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I have no doubt he is correct in these interpretations of its success.

Dr. Odell is writing a history of the theater and not of the drama, but students of American literature would have welcomed more contemporary criticism of American plays or of the performances of actors in those plays. The greatest play of the time, American or British, Boker's *Francesca da Rimini*, comes in this period, but very little is said about it. It would have been interesting if he had inserted here William Winter's reasons for the comparative failure of *Francesca*, when E. L. Davenport produced it in 1855,—his mechanical, unsympathetic interpretation of Lanciotto. The manuscript of Davenport's prompt book shows that he omitted the great garden scene between Paolo and Francesca because he was not on the stage! Dr. Odell gives in detail Jefferson's account of his changes in *Rip Van Winkle*. Why not treat the infinitely greater drama in the same way? Perhaps he does not think it is so great—and that leads me to the one and only quarrel I have with this history—and that lies in the remarks, casual it is true, concerning the American plays. Dr. Odell's ideal of dramatic excellence—leaving Shakespeare out—is to be found in the British comedies which Wallack played so often—usually the comedy of manners. That is all very well. I enjoy them myself. But when in one place he says (VI, 126): "And now followed a golden age of comedy—*She Stoops to Conquer*, *London Assurance*, *The Road to Ruin*, *Who Wants a Guinea?*, *The School of Reform*, etc.," and soon after (VI, 198) remarks: "Forrest's repertoire in those days knew no novelty; *The Broker of Bogota* came nearest to such designation . . . otherwise, from *Othello*, *Hamlet* and *King Lear* to *Lucius Junius Brutus* and *Virginius*, and thence to *Jack Cade*, *The Gladiator* and *Metamora* ran the gamut of emotion, Mme. Ponisi sinking as gracefully as possible from Desdemona and Cordelia to Marianne [*sic*] and Nahmeokee." The slur is obvious. Now among his list of British comedies there is only one, *She Stoops to*

*Conquer*, which is as fine a piece of dramatic literature as *Brutus*, *The Gladiator*, or *The Broker of Bogota*. Moreover, they are, all three, finer plays than *Virginius*, for this reason. As Filon well said: "Virginius is an excellent father, a liberal minded member of the middle class, interesting himself in politics." In other words Sheridan Knowles made Roman history domestic and British. John Howard Payne and Robert Montgomery Bird made it heroic, and kept it Roman. And Robert T. Conrad made Jack Cade human and had the instinct to see far ahead of his time how appealing the play of economic revolt can be.

I fancy that my difference with Dr. Odell on this matter arises from our difference as to the influence of British playwriting upon American drama. He emphasizes this constantly, but I believe that there was much more influence from France than is generally supposed. For example (VII, 22) he says that Boucicault's *The Poor of New York* (1857) was "founded on a play called *Crime and Its Victims*." *The Poor of New York* was based upon *Les Pauvres de Paris*, by Brisebarre and Nus (1856). As Dr. R. H. Ware has shown,<sup>1</sup> Sterling Coyne's *Fraud and Its Victims*, which had been played at the Surrey Theatre, London, and at Barnum's Museum earlier in 1857, is not the source of *The Poor of New York*, although it must have been known to Boucicault and his fellow adaptors, Seymour, Goodrich, and Warden. There is nothing common to the American and English plays that is not also to be found in the French original. When they both follow the French original, the American rendering is closer. The heroine is "Alida" in both the French and American plays. In the British she is Isabelle, etc., etc. I believe that the influence of British Literature upon American is so often overestimated that it is important to call attention to any illustration of the general tendency.

But all these criticisms, except the last, are after all upon matters of judgment. They do not affect the greatness of the task to which Dr. Odell has devoted his life or the skill he has shown in proceeding with it. I like most his restraint in dealing with the hundreds of errors in previous histories of the New York stage. Without stooping to correct them he has gone on serenely, giving the facts and fusing them into a picture which makes the past of the American stage glow with reality. It is as though he had lived himself and seen the performances he chronicled. If he can do this with the past, we can only look forward with keen expectation to the chronicles of the years in which his own memory will give its aid to the imagination of the historian.

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ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN.

<sup>1</sup> *American Adaptations of French Plays on the New York and Philadelphia Stages from 1834 to the Civil War*, pp. 81-84.

AMERICAN HUMOR: A Study of the National Character. By Constance Rourke. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1931. x, 324 pp. \$3.50.

This well-written book persuasively presents a daring thesis which has to do with the elusive entity mentioned in the sub-title, the American national character. The sub-title is more appropriate than the relatively unpretentious title, for after beginning with crude humorous writings in which she finds certain typical native qualities, the author, turning to the works of recognized literary leaders of America, finds those qualities in their work as well. The thesis, in short, is that the national character of this country as analyzed by the author has found expression not only in Yankee stories, Negro minstrelsy, and frontier yarns, but also in the more dignified creations of Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Melville, James, Emily Dickinson, Sinclair Lewis, Edwin Arlington Robinson, and others.

During the decades between the Revolution and 1860, the author points out, there were developed in oral tradition, in printed tales, and in theatrical presentations, three comic native figures—the Yankee, the backwoodsman, and the Negro. These characters, though differing, were alike in several ways. For example, they were wanderers who had broken old ties; each spoke a homely language, used exaggeration or understatement, employed crude similes, metaphors, or fables; all adapted themselves shrewdly to new situations; all wore masks which hid emotions; all were in a sense mythical, folk creations of ideal figures. They in turn tended to merge in a generic figure which might be called the national character. Further, they all were presented in similar literary forms.

When American literature on a higher level arose, continues Miss Rourke, it rose on a groundwork created by "the innumerable comic story-tellers and myth-makers" who had created the trio (p. 162):

Its forms were those which had been slowly channeled out by humor: they were the monologue, the rhapsody, the tale. Its color was drawn from comedy or from that other dark mixed mood from which comedy had arisen in relief. Comic lore had been but little concerned with persons; its great preoccupation had been with types or the crowd; it had never been embedded in societies. In the same fashion American literature in this primary phase was for the most part unconcerned with closely drawn individuals of a stable group, though it often turned toward legendary characters. Improvisation had been abundant on popular levels; it spread again through literature; this remained incomplete, like a first venture. The epical scope was again approached—and transiently attained; with this went that tendency toward the conscious, the self-aware, toward the inner view, the inner fantasy, which belonged to the American comic sense. Genius necessarily made its own unaccountable revelations. Many external influences were at work. But the basic patterns, those flowing unconscious patterns of mind and feeling which create fundamental outlines in expression, had been developed in a native comic lore. The same character was at work on both levels.

Hence Emerson belonged to the tradition because (pp. 163-165) he wrote monologues, "used the familiar homely imagery," "tended to stress the nationalistic, and because "his communications were broken, lyrical, rhapsodic; his writings and speech had an air of improvisation . . . the interior voice was heard unmistakably in reverie or soliloquy." Whitman belonged to the tradition because (pp. 169-177) his "generic and inclusive 'I'" was "a large and comprehensive figure not unlike that inclusive character toward which the types of popular comedy had seemed to merge," because he was nationalistic, religious, a tall talker and a user of humble words, "an improviser," a creator of "the monologue or rhapsody turned inward." And Poe (pp. 181-184), with his hoaxes, his use of traditions, his fantasy, his mingling of terror and laughter, his psychologizing, also exemplified the American character. And so on, through the works of Melville, whose *Moby Dick* resembled the tall tale (p. 193), through the novels of James; who, in *The American*, tried to draw "the large, the generic American character" (p. 238), and through the works of others, Miss Rourke traces the traditions she has discovered.

The strength of this startling book—and it does have real value—does not lie in its main theme. Miss Rourke's thesis is open to several serious objections—objections not only to the author's analysis of American humorous writings but also to her analysis of literary creations on a higher level.

American humor hardly has the close association with folk-lore Miss Rourke indicates: it hardly may be termed a "popular lore that must for lack of a better word be called a folklore" (p. 161). It was created, for the most part, not so much by the folk as by individuals who not only wrote but also read—journalists, lawyers, politicians, soldiers, printers, and the like. Even if it were a folk product, there would be no guarantee that it caught all the dominant characteristics or even employed peculiarly appropriate technique of the heterogeneous American nation.

Moreover, typically, native humor was not, as Miss Rourke infers, the product of "a nation of wild and careless myth-makers" (p. 157), for elements which were mythical—in the usual sense of the term—are found in a relatively small number of humorous works. Davy Crockett, to be sure, the big bear of Arkansas, and Sam Patch performed godlike wonders; but there were—outside of a few almanacs—few other mythical figures. Even Mike Fink, cited as "a Mississippi river-god" (p. 54), retained human stature, human traits, in all but a few stories through a period of fifty years. And so far as evidence is discoverable, it is not true that "he



became Mike Finch, Mike Finx, Mike Wing, in a hundred minor stories" (p. 54); "half a dozen stories" would be more accurate.

Scholars of American humor will hardly agree with the statement that the comedy which produced scores of crackerbox philosophers showed that "the Americans had singularly little regard for common sense" (p. 156). From the time Franklin invented the saws of Poor Richard down to the day of the beatified Will Rogers, humorous figures have been fountains of homely wisdom.

Scholars have consistently disagreed with the statement that America's comic writings were "but little concerned with persons," that their "chief preoccupation" was "with types or the crowd" (p. 162). That there were type Yankees, type backwoodsmen, and type Negroes is true, but it is also true that many figures were highly individualized. One feels that, among the Yankees, Sam Slick and Hosea Biglow were not generalized portraits, and it is certain that the figures of most of the ante-bellum comic characters of the Southwest were realistically portrayed. Longstreet asserted that the sketches in *Georgia Scenes* "consist of nothing more than fanciful combinations of *real* incidents and characters; and throwing into those scenes . . . some personal incident or adventure of my own, real or imaginary . . . usually *real*, but happening at different times and under different circumstances from those in which they are . . . represented. . . . Some of the scenes are as literally true as the frailties of memory will allow them to be." (*Italics his.*) Alabamans today testify that Simon Suggs was drawn from a character living when Hooper wrote. Sut Lovingood, who, says Henry Watterson, "belongs to a class . . . but little known even in the South," was, according to his creator, a copy of an individual. Mark Twain was true to Southwestern humorous tradition, not because he portrayed generic figures, but because, a realist, he peopled his tales with a Tom Sawyer, a Huck Finn, a Becky Thatcher, a Pudd'nhead Wilson, a Senator Dilworthy, and a Colonel Sellers (whom—p. 234—Miss Rourke calls "a legendary figure"), copied faithfully from persons who walked the earth. Miss Rourke seems to confuse the type with the typical. How else could she (p. 283) call Sinclair Lewis "primarily a fabulist"?

The structure Miss Rourke raises on her analysis of humor thus topples, for its groundwork is weak. It topples also because she is too eager to believe that "the American had cut himself off from the older traditions; the natural heritage of England and the continent had been cast off . . ." (p. 158). She refuses to consider that Poe might (as was probable) have found the formula for his tales in the flood of Gothic tales inundating contemporary periodicals. She disregards the proof of Dr.

Carpenter that Whitman's generic "I" also existed in the literature of the Orient. She does not note, in considering the Emersonian traits which placed him in the American tradition, that Carlyle, doubtless an influence, had he been patriotic, would have been, according to her analysis, as much of a typical American as was Emerson. She does not note that Melville's "fairy-tale," *Mardi*, gained as much from *Rabelais*, certainly, as from American comedy, that though (p. 195) such names as Hosea Hussey, Stubb, and Flask were like those of stage Yankees, they were also like those of hundreds of English comic characters swarming through at least two hundred years. If her analysis of Robert Montgomery Bird (p. 201) as an American is correct, an author who influenced him, Walter Scott, was also an American.

Further, the relationship between American humor and American literature is not clearly indicated. Sometimes Miss Rourke thinks of it as a source (p. 203), as in the case of Poe, with whom, with very scant evidence (pp. 179-181), she ties up a humorous influence, though we are asked to believe that though the substance of his tales was not native, his patterns "were those of a native story-telling" (p. 182). Usually, however, the bond was rather mystic: "A homogeneous world of imagination had been created in which popular fancies and those of genius were loosely knit together" (p. 204). Miss Rourke does not manage to reveal how this vague relationship was established.

The thesis, then, must be mistrusted. And it seems desirable to remark that, like many who write for both scholarly and general readers, the author provokes the former by failing to document thoroughly.

Yet the book has real values. It is obviously the product of a great deal of research, much of it valuable. Her treatment of stage Yankees, of Davy Crockett, particularly as revealed in the almanacs, of American minstrels, and of strolling theatrical companies, is vivid and illuminating. Since most of her criticism of important writers is from a new viewpoint, her comments are often very suggestive, and sometimes are valuable critical contributions. Her discussions of Bret Harte, Henry James, Hawthorne, Whitman, Mark Twain, Emily Dickinson, Robinson, and Lindsay, and parts of her criticisms of others, are of primary importance. The scholar of American literature will find much in the volume quite useful, even though he will be forced to reject Miss Rourke's ambitious thesis.

*The University of Chicago.*

WALTER BLAIR.

THE PURITAN MIND. (Studies in Religion and Culture: American Religion Series I). By Herbert Wallace Schneider. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1930. 301 pp.

"The Puritan Mind" is an excellent title, but it is wholly out of place as applied to this volume. It suggests at once that Mr. Schneider's study is far more complete than it is, or pretends to be. If his work is indeed to be looked at as describing his conception of the Puritan's "mind" or "attitude" or "philosophy" with anything like fullness, it must be judged sadly wanting. Actually, its title notwithstanding, the book is a good, though brief and general, description of one or two of the chief interests which some of the Puritans—perhaps most—held dear. To the idea of the "holy commonwealth" as it seems to have developed and then declined rapidly among New England colonists, Mr. Schneider gives most of his space, and in treating it he shows the sound critical and historical craftsmanship for which his earlier work has prepared his readers. Probably "the holy commonwealth" was, so far as can be told now, less definitely conceived and less upheld by the Puritans as a tangible ideal, than Mr. Schneider implies, but his selection of it as a hook on which to hang some conclusions about Puritanism is at least a useful device for purposes of exposition. But no study such as this deserves a title as general as "The Puritan Mind." Puritan minds, whatever else they may have been, were crowded with varied and even contrasting ideas, from all sorts of sources—scraps of political philosophy, tangled webs of old and new theology, bits of superstition, fragments of science. The corporate "Puritan mind," if such an entity could ever be isolated, must be defined otherwise and less simply than in terms of one political or politico-religious idea, however common that idea may have been among early New Englanders.

In order to get his work within the limits of one small volume, Mr. Schneider has had to deal often in generalizations. Many are penetrating and valuable; others, as generalizations too often must, come perilously near being misleading. An incurable vice—though a vice so easily understood as to be almost forgivable—of the simplifier of complex fields of history or philosophy, is exaggeration. It is all too easy to set forth as a final statement what represents after all no more than a hazardous elaboration from a few facts. Mr. Schneider asserts that the leaders of New England imagined that God "had elected them from all eternity" to play a rôle in a divine drama and that "the assurance of their election and of the dignity and importance of their parts led to such acting as has seldom been seen on the stage of history." Partly true, perhaps, but after all it may have been that the Puritans most historically significant and most influential

lacked any continuous assurance of any kind of election and behaved more sincerely than the word "acting," as it is used here, conveys. In this instance, to be sure, Mr. Schneider may simply be swallowing too credulously one of the stock pronouncements of certain modern interpreters of the Puritans. It seems safe to guess that too uncritical deference for certain printed words of others leads him to remark that Cotton and Increase Mather in the end "became a laughing-stock, entertaining the people by heaping invective on their critics" and that they died "both sour old men, persecuted persecutors." Cotton Mather shortly before his death was respected enough to be offered the presidency of Yale; the church which the Mathers ministered to remained strong; the few records of attacks on either man or of attempts to make them "laughing-stocks" or to "persecute" them, are far outnumbered by the abundant testimonies of their contemporaries as to the genuine, and general, esteem and support they commanded to the last. An echoing of the ancient commonplaces of anti-Matherian superstition, given new dignity by a few recent historians, is perhaps inevitable in a book for which thorough-going original research was not possible, or even, perhaps, necessary, but it does introduce a definitely erroneous point of view into pages otherwise for the most part dispassionate and accurate.

There are minor slips, of course. To say that John Wise's book was "printed and re-printed" before 1772 seems to give an exaggerated impression of its bibliographical history. It is incautious, to say the least, to refer to Edwards at the time he left Northampton as "broken and beaten." Beaten, perhaps, in one controversy, but "broken"? Neither his farewell to his congregation, nor what followed in his life, suggests that. To speak of "the revocation of the Massachusetts charter, in 1692," is to fall foul of chronology; to say that in 1691 Increase Mather attempted a union of the New England churches with the Presbyterians is to go beyond the known facts about his efforts to unite English Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

A bibliography follows the text, "intended to be a guide for further reading," but not pretending to be "complete or critical." To print Hosmer's name as "Kosmer" on page 268 will not help seekers for guidance, nor will the omission under the entry for Ward's *Simple Cobler* of any reference to the accessible reprints of it. John *Buck* McMaster, of course, is a misprint that does no harm.

Within its limits, of which unfortunately the title gives no warning, the book is good enough to make much attention to its deficiencies seem captious. Its limits, however, must be recognized and its readers should

not be led to suppose that it covers completely a subject only one phase of which does it treat with any thoroughness at all. Most readers, too, might be well advised to stop before Chapter VIII, "Ungodly Puritans," which considers Franklin and Hawthorne. The chapter does, to be sure, dextrously comment and displays often a revealing critical insight, but its connection with what precedes is tenuous, and the impression it gives, as the climax of the book, is confusing rather than convincing. Read by itself it might seem an entertaining essay; read at the end of a discussion of an aspect of Puritan thinking, it mars sorely the total effect of a useful book.

*Harvard University.*

KENNETH B. MURDOCK.

LE THEATRE AMERICAIN. By Léonie Villard. Paris: Boivin & Cie. 1929. 202 pp.

AN HOUR OF AMERICAN DRAMA. By Barrett H. Clark. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co. (In The One Hour Series). 1930. 159 pp.

Although these two books vary greatly in scope, their authors are in essential agreement as to what is significant in American drama. Mme. Villard begins her survey with the inception of play-writing in this country, whereas Mr. Clark is interested only in the last decade and a half. But the professor at the University of Lyon, like a good French scholar, is concerned with tracing the rise of a native drama which, by reflecting American character and American social conditions, has developed into an important form of literary art, and this she finds to have come to pass only during the last fifteen or twenty years. In a rapid summary of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century drama she shows how our playwrights were for the most part content to follow English and French patterns, too timid or too unimaginative to attempt an independent cultivation of the rich field lying immediately about them. While a certain openness to native influences may be discovered in such plays as *The Contrast*, *Superstition*, *Fashion*, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—and, much later and more impressively, in the work of William Vaughn Moody—it was not until the beginning of the World War, which gave the United States "une conscience plus aigüe de sa force, de son indépendance physique et politique," that our theater ceased to be an echo of the European stage and, by establishing an ever closer contact with the activities and ideals of the nation, became fundamentally American. This emphasis upon native types and problems together with the spirit of free experimentation she finds here

has won for the best of our contemporary plays the high esteem of the French critic.

Among the dramatists singled out as especially notable are Theodore Dreiser (whom we have forgotten as a playwright), Hatcher Hughes, Paul Green, and Lulu Vollmer (for the vigor of their regional drama), Susan Glaspell, Rachel Crothers, and, above all, Eugene O'Neill. Throughout the second half of her book, Professor Villard constantly refers to O'Neill for evidence of merit in modern American drama, and the final chapter is devoted entirely to him. To his ruthless experimentation, his refusal to stand still, the writer justly gives the warmest praise, and behind his innovations in form she sees the essential poet in O'Neill seeking for an increasingly imaginative interpretation of reality, seeking for the spiritual world of which the outward seeming is "the envelope and the sign."

S'il a déjà donné à la littérature américaine l'oeuvre dramatique la plus attachante et la puissamment originale qu'elle ait jamais eue, ses recherches nouvelles marquent peut-être le premier pas fait vers le théâtre de l'avenir.

If Mme. Villard's admiration for the author of *Strange Interlude* leads her to underestimate or overlook some important playwrights, at least her attitude reflects the European opinion—and few competent students on this side of the Atlantic would deny that the most significant portent in the American, or perhaps the English-speaking, theater today is Eugene O'Neill.

Like the French critic, Mr. Clark in his pleasantly personal book, which he describes as "a collection of notes and not a history," sees our drama first taking on importance with the twentieth century.

I declare flatly [he writes] there is no play written by an American . . . from the very earliest days down to 1900, let us say, that's in any way comparable as a work of art to even the average second-rate fiction or verse produced in this country during the same period.

Perhaps one would like to except Boker's *Francesca da Rimini*, but the statement is substantially true. The work not alone or chiefly of O'Neill, but also of Rice, Green, Howard, Kelly, Barry, and others is, according to Mr. Clark, outstanding in our dramatic annals because it is marked by an honesty and sincerity seldom found in nineteenth-century plays. That is to say, the best contemporary dramatists, unlike Boucicault and Daly, are writing plays not because they have any intimate knowledge of the theater as such, or because they especially want to be dramatists, but because they feel they have something to say about life, which, incidentally, can best be said from the stage. "Life, then, is what we have in our new plays—whether well understood and described or not . . ." Moreover, as Mr.

Clark reminds us, some of our innovators, showing a healthy contempt for the conventional rules of drama, are forcing the stage to do things it never did before.

Again the two critics agree that the besetting sins of most American playwrights are timidity and superficiality—timidity that makes the happy ending inevitable to the majority of them, and superficiality which results from the absence of that imaginative power that causes the artist to attain a higher reality by seeing beyond the real.

On the subject of the Little Theater movement Professor Villard and Mr. Clark part company. The former, after pointing out how economic conditions at the end of the nineteenth century had imposed on all but the largest cities a greater degree of dramatic isolation than had existed in 1860, and how local acting groups set about remedying the situation, remarks that the Little Theaters

rétablissent le contact interrompu par des causes matérielles entre la petite ville et le théâtre littéraire d'aujourd'hui.

Mr. Clark, on the other hand, insists that the Little Theaters have gone Broadway, and quotes John Anderson's comment in *Box Office* that instead of having the "legit by the throat," as was once predicted, they "have the legit by its coat-tails." Kenneth Macgowan made the same discovery recently on the transcontinental tour of investigation which he recorded in *Footlights Across America*. It is to be feared that in this case the French writer has been too kind to us. Just here Mr. Clark finds the most hopeless phase of our theatrical situation. If, instead of following New York, the provincial theaters were to become truly experimental, he feels that the result would be a vitality our stage has never known.

By and large the reading of either of these books is a heartening experience. After living through the last few years with their wealth of feeble plays and after contemplating the prodigious growth of the radio and the talkies, one is comforted to find a close student of our drama writing in America:

What is more significant at this moment in the development of our national drama is that we are getting more and better plays than we ever had by every sort of writer, about every sort of person, and laid in every part of the country.

and another writing in France:

Si son histoire, au xix<sup>e</sup> siècle, traverse un désert coupé de rares et maigres oasis, on peut dire qu'aujourd'hui le théâtre américain, après de longues années d'attente, pénètre enfin, guidé par le génie de quelques auteurs et le talent de beaucoup d'autres, dans la Terre promise.

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ORAL SUMNER COAD.

FRANK NORRIS OF "THE WAVE": *Stories & Sketches from the San Francisco Weekly, 1893-1897*. Foreword by Charles G. Norris. Introduction by Oscar Lewis. San Francisco: The Westgate Press. 500 copies only. \$10 the copy.

This volume, which is handsomely gotten up from the typographical standpoint, should be read in conjunction with *Volume X: Collected Writings* in the collected edition of Norris's work. It is, in effect, a printing of material omitted from the volume for one reason or another. Its excuse for being, other than the fact that a file of *The Wave* is almost impossible to come by, is rather difficult to discover, for it was already rather glaringly apparent that Norris's early journalism was no better and no worse than that of dozens of other talented newspapermen. From these two volumes of dredgings we learn precious little about why Norris was able to write a small group of first-rate and important novels: *McTeague*, *The Octopus*, and *Vandover and the Brute*. We do not discover here more than the merest faint indications of the way he would write when he was at the top of his bent. But we do find evidence to confirm the impression, derived from a reading of the books he published during his lifetime, plus *Vandover* which came twelve years after his death: the impression that he was a man thoroughly confused and decidedly an intellectual "light weight."

Writing extendedly about Norris in *The Bookman* for July, 1929, I noted: "In his work realism and romance, art and journalism, art and business, rebellion and tradition, all come into conflict." Nowhere is his confusion better shown than in his perfectly astonishing volume, *The Responsibilities of a Novelist*. This book must take rank along with Hamlin Garland's *Crumbling Idols* as an ill-considered defense of rebellion. The fact is that Norris succeeded only momentarily and, one must believe, accidentally, in *The Octopus* in fusing the various influences at work upon him. *McTeague*, as the reader will recall, ends on a note of romantic melodrama after being through many chapters in the tradition of Zola. Norris's most thoroughly Zolaesque book was *Vandover*. Now *The Octopus* combines romance and realism, as ordinarily defined and as Norris redefined them with unnecessary perversity, and may therefore be taken as the book which best represents his talent and his ideas of what a novel should be.

*Frank Norris of "The Wave"* shows us that he could have been a good reporter, a Richard Harding Davis, or a writer of the sort employed today by *The New Yorker*. He could do very easily the light and giddy, the entertaining and amusing sort of thing. This vein came to a head in



*Blix*, the importance of which is adventitious: it is autobiographical. Only one sketch in this book seems definitely to forecast his best work. It is called *Fantaisie Printaniere* and introduces McTeague and Trina, but there is small indication of *McTeague* in the story which is a jocular sketch of low life while the novel was to be decidedly earnest in tone.

Charles Norris's "Foreword" gives some interesting minor sidelights on his brother. Oscar Lewis contributes a very informing preface which places this period in Norris's career in historical perspective.

Elmhurst, N. Y.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY. Edited by William Lyon Phelps. Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company. 1930. 335 pp.

This attractive volume is a reissue, the fourth, of a work copyrighted in 1917. Its editor has brought together some hundreds of Riley's letters, many very slight, others fairly long. Taken together, they sketch for the reader the poet's middle and later years. Riley lived from 1849 to 1916. His recital tours carried him over most of the United States and, with his books, brought him a wide circle of acquaintances. Among his correspondents were the leading writers of his day. Perhaps his closest friend was Edgar Wilson ("Bill") Nye, with whom he often traveled and gave joint programs. It is to Nye that many of his most interesting letters were addressed. Other correspondents were T. B. Aldrich, R. W. Gilder, S. W. Mitchell, Joel Chandler Harris, R. J. Burdette, Eugene Debs, Rudyard Kipling. The leading Riley traits stand out clearly from Professor Phelps's volume: his loveliness, his modesty, his strange timidity before audiences, his helplessness when traveling, his love of children.

Several letters refer to the "Poe-Poem Hoax," the successful launching of *Leonanie* as a Poe recovery, and the storm of abuse brought on Riley when the real authorship was revealed. Often he chats of his literary contemporaries. Among those he admires are Mrs. Browning, Joaquin Miller, and Longfellow. Of Matthew Arnold in America he wrote:

He is English thoroughly, though quite Scotch in appearance. Until you hear him speak you would say Scotch. A tall strong face, with a basement story chin, and an eye eager, unconscious, restless; gray and not large. A heavy man physically, though not of extra flesh—simply a fine manly skeleton properly draped. He is self-sufficient, and yet trying to do better, on his own advice, not at all snobbish, and yet with hardly enough vanity to stand the criticism. He is a marked combination of learning, fancy, and matter of fact.

Other letters contain bits of criticism, or discuss the technique of verse, or give encouraging advice to literary aspirants, to whom he was always warmly responsive. To a feminine inquirer he wrote:

If you wish to write sonnets, you have only to set about it in serious earnest. Read Mrs. Browning and be strong—as she is strong. Then study Longfellow, and be artless and subdued and very tender—yet deep as the love, the hope of any human heart is deep. You must read Keats, too, and try to lure from his rich store some of the nectar of his language. Oh, he is wonderful! And again I advise you to select words with greatest care. Avoid rigidly the “ersts”—“erstwhiles”—“chrisms”—“pellucids”—“brooklets”—“cloudlets,” and all that swarmlet of detestlets! There are thousands of these words, once used, but now altogether out of taste, and they oftentimes spoil poems for the modern reader when to save his life he couldn’t define what was in the verse that struck him unpleasantly.

In one letter he suggests a long list, a page or more, of taboos for the dialect writer, and he feels very sure of his list. How outmoded it is now!

Do *not* write “for,” “or,” “nor,” but “fer,” “er,” “ner”; nor “get,” but “git”; nor “heard,” but “heerd”; nor “recollect,” but “ri-” or “ree-” collect; nor “always,” but “allus,” or “alluz”; nor “children,” but “childern”; nor “potatoes,” but “p’taters”; nor “tobacco,” but “tobacker”; nor “shares,” but “sheers”; nor “across,” but “acrosst”; nor “jointed,” but “j’inted”; nor “yellow,” but “yaller” or “yeller.” . . .

Some of Riley’s most charming letters are to children. His signally successful personal appearances in recitals are now pretty much forgotten; he lives mainly as a dialect poet and as a laureate of children. Many pages of his letters reflect his interest in dialect writing—then in vogue as a literary novelty—and his devotion to children, in real life as well as in his verse.

*The University of Nebraska.*

LOUISE POUND.

SPEAK THE SPEECH. By Barrett H. Clark. University of Washington Chapbooks. 1930. 31 pp.

What is Standard American Speech? At a time when many professional teachers of speech urge the rising generation to cultivate the pronunciation of the lettered classes of Southern England, it is refreshing to find that Mr. Barrett H. Clark prefers adherence to regional and individual variations. He is in the opposite camp from admirers of what Dr. F. H. Vizetelly, writing in *The Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1931, calls the “abominable Oxford voice.” He names no names, but it is plain that he wishes no wholesale conformity to the speech (say) of Professor Daniel Jones of the University of London, whose phonetic *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1916) is the last word of authority to many Americans. Those voice specialists who ask their students to modify their pronunciation by imitating the phonetic records of the Windsor P. Daggett School of Speech in New York City, or who adhere to the dicta of Professor W. R. Tilly of the Extension Department of Columbia University, or who yield to the pronouncements of *Good American Speech* by Margaret P. McLean, or to the persuasive words of Marguerite E. Dewitt, that valiant

advocate of a standardized "World-English"—all these would like to see the broad *a*'s and diphthongized *o*'s and dropped *r*'s of the upper-class Londoners generalized in America. Mr. Clark dissents.

But since I don't believe there is a standard speech at all, other than a set of man-made rules many of which are silly and most of which are useless to all but a few specialists, I have no fear that the English-speaking world may some day find itself divided into opposing camps of linguistic conformists and nonconformists; happily each phonetician and purist is riding his own hobby, while the masses go on pronouncing *can't* in two hundred and eighty-seven different ways.

Professor Jones thinks of his own pronunciation as regional, the speech of Southern educated Englishmen. He realizes that many of his compatriots, among whom, I think, was the late laureate, Robert Bridges, preferred or prefer a more Northern form. Northern English, Scottish English, and Irish English are all purer brands of the mother tongue than London English, if by "purer" we mean that they are closer to the language of Shakespeare and the Authorized Version of the Scriptures. Shakespeare had strongly trilled *r*'s, and the flat rather than the broad *a* in words like "path" and "last." Nevertheless many American teachers, unaware of the radicalism of London pronunciation, assume that it represents especially "pure" or "correct" diction. Hence it is, perhaps, that there are speech coaches at Hollywood, trained in the traditions of the British stage, who do their best to promote through the medium of audible pictures the currency of the broad *a* in words like "laugh," "dance," of diphthongized *o*'s in words like "note," "road," "toast," of the dropped *r* in words like "far" and "farm," and who prefer "bean" for "been" and "eyether" for "either."

Mr. Clark wishes no violence to be done to the "beautiful impulse that lies in most of us to speak the language of our group or region." He does not admire "eyether," really a late contagion, not a "pure" old form. He objects to having our standard speech fixed by Oxford professors, or by English-trained actors, or by mongrel American-Anglophiles. And he dislikes synthetic standards because they are unnatural. He is not concerned very deeply about standardization, for most of us are going to be natural, he thinks, in spite of teachers or academies. But he does fear that some Americans may be frightened or bullied into trying to suppress the beauty and distinction of their natural local speech. His final paragraph runs:

We can never, I suppose, suppress affectation in speech, but I think it possible to keep it from contaminating the unaffected; the sort of affectation I've been talking about is a form of degeneracy, contagious and likely to spread if allowed to take root. As an antidote, however, I suggest that every Standard-Bearer be sentenced to listen to himself talk an hour a

day, and in the evening to listen to at least three radio announcers. If he has a sense of humor, he will laugh away his own absurdity, and if he hasn't, he can get a job as announcer himself.

*The University of Nebraska.*

LOUISE POUND.

THE AMERICAN SCENE. Edited by Barrett H. Clark and Kenyon Nicholson. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1930.

The editors of *The American Scene* preface their anthology of thirty-four one-act plays with the statement that they have made this "composite epic" out of "love of the land and its people, and strong faith in the work of its dramatists."

What is the America whose image arises from a reading of this collection?

It is a land of contrasting settings, of physical environment widely varied in space and time: stretching from "the parlor of a Nantucket house in the heyday of the whaling period" to the bedroom of a gangster's daughter, a modern beauty queen, in Sonoma County, California. It includes within its reaches a British tramp steamer; farms in New England, on the Midwest plains, in the mountains of Arkansas and Nevada; county jail and city police court; bar and cock-pit; New York apartment house, East Side cellar; mill town; army-post town; Southern Colonial, Negro cabin, Tennessee mountain cabin; river-bank and college town; country hotel and village post-office; "Cajun" home, and the French quarter of New Orleans; a roadside in old Indian Territory, a ranch house on the Rio Grande, a homestead in Wyoming; Illinois coal mine, prospector's cabin in Colorado, railroad-watchman's shack in the Cascade Mountains of Oregon. Despite the editors' plea regarding natural limitations imposed by book length and the fact that certain parts of the country have not yet found interpreters, they must be acclaimed for having secured in the sweep of background an epic of majestic proportions.

The plea that it was not always possible to find the play representing certain groups of people does not prevent the reader from feeling, however, that the epic misses in depth what it achieves in breadth. It not only lacks nobility. It possesses a damaging unity. Seeing America with these guides is case-work among the lower classes. Though the backgrounds vary, the individuals remain essentially the same. The editors have fairly balanced their anthology between the tragic and the comic muses. But they have reduced the American people to a Bolshevistic level. One group of summer resorters, one harassed college professor, one Southern aristocrat, and two Episcopalian ladies do not make a capitalistic spring. One can hardly feel it was only the dramatic excellence of Susan Glas-

pell's "Trifles" which led to the inclusion of this play rather than that of her equally popular "Suppressed Desires." Playwrights such as George Ade, Zoë Akins, Lewis Beach, George Kelley, and Oscar M. Wolff are given so little representation that one is forced to the conclusion that the "nice people" of Rachel Crothers are not welcome in this American Scene. There are evidently diversities and complexities in the life of their country and its national destiny which Clark and Nicholson either do not love or fail to recognize.

In the hard dramatic complexities of America's diversified cultures there nevertheless lies the possibility of a theater excelling that found in this book. The failure to run the gamut of American society might indeed have been somewhat less to be criticized had the collection been limited to and labeled as "folk plays." But drama is not an amber for the preservation of provincial "bumblepuppies." It has nothing of the vegetable about it in origin or nature. Great drama requires a faith large enough to trust it with the ordering of its own subject matter. One of the editors of this collection is associated with a firm responsible for the publishing of much of the "young" drama of recent years; through such association he has bulked large in determining the trend of American playwriting. No one who loves America can fail to be grateful for what he has done in encouraging the native playwright. But it is perhaps well to point out that though Cyclops was famous in olden days for his great size, the fact that he had but one eye not only obscured his larger vision but doomed him to the brand which brought him total blindness.

*Norman, Oklahoma.*

WINIFRED JOHNSTON.

CORONADO'S CHILDREN: TALES OF LOST MINES AND BURIED TREASURES OF THE SOUTHWEST. By J. Frank Dobie. Illustrated by Ben Carleton Mead. Dallas, Texas: The Southwest Press. 1930. 367 pp.

Nearly four hundred years ago the Spanish adventurer Coronado led the first American treasure hunt, seeking for lost treasure-cities that were already old in European legend. It was a neat fancy of Professor Dobie's to entitle all his numerous imitators Coronado's children. The developing history of the Southwest soon provided a far richer variety of treasure-hunts than that offered the early Spaniards. Spanish outposts, driven in by Indians, left hidden mines and bullion. Monks buried the treasures of their order before being driven out by the law. Mexican armies lost chests of coin. Outlaws, pressed by posses or burdened with the mere weight of booty, hid their riches in the earth. Honest travelers, pressed by outlaws, followed the same sound instinct. Pirates, seemingly, gathered

treasure for the pure joy of hiding it. Indians had secret sources of gold that they guarded jealously. Prospectors found mines only to lose them. Some mines, like the San Saba, were lost and found—or nearly found—several times under several names.

This legendary material is probably the most colorful in the whole panorama of American history. It adapted itself to all the vicissitudes of the Southwest for four centuries, and it still stirs the imagination of cranks and dreamers—also most “gentle readers.” Professor Dobie still receives requests for maps by which various treasures may be located. It has developed its conventions of conduct, cartography, and cabalistic signs. Perhaps the most important and discouraging convention is that which dooms the seeker to disappointment. True, an occasional treasure-hunter returns licking his chops with an air of secret opulence, but most of them are with appalling regularity interrupted by war, death, sickness, or hostile Indians—always on the very brink of success. Santa Anna’s money boxes are dug up and actually grasped, only to slip back into a bottomless quicksand. A prospector crosses a whole region of gold-bearing rock with Comanches yelling so suggestively at his heels that picking up a sample would have been criminal negligence.

Professor Dobie, who has been a treasure-hunter too, is the only one whose success is well authenticated. Failing to find gold, he has produced a book that is unquestionably gold-bearing. Better still, he has much of the gusto of the old treasure-hunters, combined with a discriminating industry in collecting and examining historical and traditional material. He avoids crass and heavy-handed debunking, on the sound theory that readers have common sense of their own and that an occasional sly humorous suggestion ought to ensure that Truth will rise again.

Natural as they seem in his pages, however, we wonder if some of the racy old-timers who were his informants did not have a more boisterous scepticism than Professor Dobie reports. The prospector story cited above, and their elaborate care in fabricating and preserving treasure maps seem to hint as much. For some of them, at least, credulous tenderfeet must have been also a treasure.

*Duke University.*

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

## BRIEF MENTION

BLISS CARMAN AND THE LITERARY CURRENTS AND INFLUENCES OF HIS TIME.

By James Cappon. New York and Montreal: Louis Carrier and Alan Isles, Inc. [1930.]

Professor Cappon's study, while it mentions briefly the chief events of Carman's life, is primarily concerned with an analysis and appraisal of the poet's literary work viewed in its relations to the literary movements of his time. Volume by volume the author examines the writings of Canada's chief singer with an expert eye for sources and an attentive ear for the overtones of originality—and then concludes with a penetrating essay on the tradition of Emerson and Whitman in American literature and a final chapter comparing Whitman's method in his free verse with the method set forth in the critical theories of Paul Claudel. A reader might object to the "independent" treatment given various literary traditions, which occasionally (*e.g.*, the needlessly extended disquisition on Sappho in chapter seven, and the last two chapters in the book) seems to lead him far away from Carman the transcendentalist or Carman the vagabond, were it not for the fact that Professor Cappon writes as a genteel lover of ideas rather than as a mere dispenser of facts.

C. G.

THE SLABSIDES BOOK OF JOHN BURROUGHS. Edited for The John Burroughs Memorial Association by H. A. Haring. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1931.

This volume aims to attract attention to the Memorial Association founded in honor of Burroughs by presenting selections from his works dealing with his famous swamp cabin and word pictures of the naturalist or his rural retreat, ranging from an essay by Frank M. Chapman to an address delivered by Hamlin Garland. Only the most ardent readers of Burroughs will find much of interest in the book.

C. G.

THE MEANING OF MYSTICISM. By Woodbridge Riley. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1930. 102 pp. \$1.25.

This little volume undertakes to explain what mysticism is and what it is not, and then traces in a neat and intelligible fashion "The Pagan Preparation," "Romanic Mysticism," "Germanic Mysticism," and "Anglo-American Mysticism." In his consideration of the last topic Professor

Riley affirms that "the contribution of the Anglo-American mystics is that of the worship of nature," and proceeds to demonstrate his proposition by setting forth the fundamental doctrines of Edwards, Woolman, Emerson, and Whitman.

*Duke University.*

CLARENCE GOHDES.

THE STEPHEN H. WAKEMAN COLLECTION OF BOOKS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN WRITERS: *First Editions, Inscribed Presentation and Personal Copies, Original Manuscripts and Letters of Nine American Authors: Bryant, Emerson, Hawthorne, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Poe, Thoreau, Whittier.* [New York:] American Art Association. [1924.] Reprint for sale by G. A. Baker and Co. \$6.

The demand for copies of the Wakeman Sale Catalogue has prompted G. A. Baker and Company, of New York, to sponsor a reprint, which contains the prices paid for the various items at the auction held by the American Art Association in April, 1924. There is ample justification for the demand for copies of this catalogue, since it contains admirable descriptions of practically every one of the publications of the various authors represented, in addition to numerous manuscripts. The volume supplements the bibliographies of the works of the nine authors in such a way that no one doing research connected with any one of them can afford to pass it by.

*Duke University.*

CLARENCE GOHDES.

FRANKIE AND JOHNNY. By John Huston. Illustrated by Covarrubias. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. 1930. 160 pp.

THE SAGA OF FRANKIE AND JOHNNY. Beautifully Engraved by John Held, Jr. New York: Walter V. McKee, Incorporated. 1930. 50 pp.

An old bawdy-house ballad is become Queen of the May, crowned by the dramatic talents (such as they are) of John Huston and the artistic ability of Covarrubias and John Held, Jr. In the case of Covarrubias we may even read genius for talent. Both books, with delicate symbolism, are bound in red; John Held's in flannel.

The old ballad, in its place, has merit. The twenty versions quoted by Mr. Huston illuminate an interesting corner of nineteenth-century American life and compose an honest folk tragedy not without genuine pathos. The play based upon them seems to have been good enough for the New York stage (though not for the police), but in the reading it becomes no more than one of the drab ballads dramatized. Both artists show humor



and really penetrating insight. The ability of Covarrubias to enrich his subject without becoming really pornographic is amazing.

Posterity, if it receives them, will find these two volumes interesting commentaries on the bar-room era and even more interesting revelations of the era that embellished that episode so lovingly. The psychologist, noting John Held's extra set of illustrations not given in the general edition, and reading his prefatory lament for "my friends the whores, the pimps, the gamblers, the hop-heads," etc., may resurrect a fine old critical phrase about "the corrupt desire to be primitive." Meanwhile readers, with their primitive desire to be corrupt, will doubtless read.

—And so King Cophetua married the girl.

*Duke University.*

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

ENJOYING POETRY IN SCHOOL. By Howard Francis Seely. Richmond, Va.: The Johnson Publishing Company. 1931.

The book is an affirmative answer to the question: Can real poetry be taught so that high school students will like it? The author starts with the thesis that there is no inherent antipathy between poetry and high school boys and girls; but he recognizes the fact that poetry—along with other types of literature—has been so frequently mishandled in the secondary school that children have come to dislike it. The book presents clearly the changes in aims, curriculum, and methods which are essential before high school teachers can guide their students into a real enjoyment of poetry.

*Duke University.*

JOHN W. CARR, JR.

THE BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH: *Essays and Comments*. Edited by M. M. Mathews. Chicago, Ill: The University of Chicago Press. [1931]. ix, 181 pp. \$2.50.

"During the past few years," says Mr. Mathews in his Preface, "I have come upon many articles, letters, and other compositions that bear directly upon the subject of American English. Some of these documents are inaccessible except to those who can consult them in large libraries. Acting upon a suggestion made to me several years ago by Sir William Craigie, I have brought together a few of the more interesting of these records, and have furnished them with such notes and explanations as, I trust, may prove helpful to those who have not had occasion to study the differences that exist, or have existed, between the English of the United States and that of 'Old England,' as the early colonists called it."

This valuable collection includes three numbers of "The Druid" papers which the Rev. John Witherspoon contributed to *The Pennsylvania Journal* in 1781, along with some other material which appeared in the same publication; a letter from Noah Webster in defense of his Dictionary of 1806; the glossary which David Humphreys added to his play, *The Yankey in England* (1816); the essay prefixed to John Pickering's *Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America*; Theodoric Romeyn Beck's "Notes on Mr. Pickering's 'Vocabulary of Words and Phrases . . .'"; a list of Americanisms which appeared in *The Virginia Literary Museum* (1829 ff.); the section, "On Language," from Cooper's *The American Democrat* (1838); and other interesting material dealing in part with Southern and Southwestern speech.

AMERICAN PERIODICALS FROM 1850 TO 1860. By Irving Garwood, Ph.D. [Privately Printed.] Macomb, Illinois. 1931. 101 pp.

This Chicago dissertation constitutes an important supplement to F. L. Mott's *History of American Magazines*, which stops at 1850. To the thirty-odd periodicals listed by Poole and Faxon for this eleven-year period Professor Garwood, of the Western Illinois State Teachers College, adds a large number of titles, bringing the total up to 269. He divides the periodicals into six groups, which, as subdivided, represent eighteen types. His method is to give a summary for each type and then discuss briefly certain representative periodicals, following this with a list of important periodicals in this particular group. One wishes the general discussions were longer and more detailed, but Professor Garwood has perhaps wisely contented himself with doing the enormous amount of spadework which otherwise each student would have to do for himself.

REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN PLAYS, *from 1767 to the Present Day*. Edited with Introductions and Notes by Arthur Hobson Quinn. Fifth Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: The Century Company. [1930.] x, 1107 pp. \$5.00.

The latest edition of Professor Quinn's admirable anthology contains some important new material: Sidney Howard's *The Silver Cord*, Philip Barry's *Paris Bound*, and James A. Herne's *Margaret Fleming*. "The only manuscript of [*Margaret Fleming*]," says Professor Quinn, "was destroyed by fire in 1909, but it has been recreated from memory by Mrs. Herne, who acted Margaret Fleming and who has generously permitted the editor to have the honor of being the first to make the drama available

to students of our stage." To make room for the new material, Professor Quinn has omitted Richard Penn Smith's *The Triumph at Plattsburg* and Julia Ward Howe's *Leonora*, "which, while of historical importance, have proved to be least practicable for detailed study."

THE CHIEF AMERICAN PROSE WRITERS: *Selected Prose by Franklin, Irving, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, Holmes, Melville, and Mark Twain*. Edited by Norman Foerster. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. [1931.] vi, 770 pp. \$2.75.

Of the additions to this new addition Professor Foerster says in his Preface: "The principal change in this edition is the inclusion of Mark Twain. At the time of the publication of the first edition [in 1916], arrangements could not be made for reprinting any of his writings. In the present edition, however, the privilege has been granted of reprinting a long and uninterrupted stretch of Mark Twain's work at its best, the famous first twenty chapters of *Life on the Mississippi*. . . .

"I have also added a selection from Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*, reduced by fourteen pages the selection from Holmes, and brought the Reading Lists up to date."

THE BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO POETRY. Chosen and Edited, with an Essay on the Negro's Creative Genius, by James Weldon Johnson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1931.] 300 pp. \$2.00.

"The selections in the main section of the first edition [1922] of the book represented two periods: the first embracing the poets of the Dunbar school and other writers down to the outbreak of the World War; the second embracing the group that emerged during the war. Since the original publication of the book a third group has arisen. The preëminent figures in this younger group are Countee Cullen, . . . and Langston Hughes, . . ." (Author's Preface.)

THE GENTEEL TRADITION AT BAY. By George Santayana. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931. 74 pp. \$1.25.

An unfavorable criticism of the New Humanism done in Santayana's best vein. The three chapters are entitled "Analysis of Modernity," "The Appeal to the Supernatural," and "Moral Adequacy of Naturalism."

PROPOSALS RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH IN *Pensilvania*. By Benjamin Franklin. Facsimile Reprint, with an Introduction by William Pepper. Philadelphia, Pa.: The University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. xvii, 32 pp. \$2.50.

A beautiful limited edition of five hundred copies with an excellent introduction and a census of extant copies of the original edition of 1749.

THE POEMS OF WASHINGTON IRVING. Brought together from various sources by William R. Langfeld. New York: The New York Public Library. 1931. 19 pp. (Pamphlet.) [Reprinted from *The Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for November, 1930.]

"Irving's poetry, written in the somewhat sentimental, somewhat artificial style then in vogue, displays not infrequently a certain charm and dexterity of touch, an awareness of natural beauty, a genial and kindly sentiment in harmony with the tone of his prose writings. Much of it is of the *vers de société* type. . . . The greater part is light-hearted, careless verse, written for the pleasure of friends or in honor of some special occasion, private or semi-public." (Editor's Introduction.)

THE LEAP OF ROUSHAN BEG. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. A Complete Facsimile, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Arthur Christy. New York: William Edwin Rudge. 1931. v, 37 pp. \$5.00.

This little book is not only handsomely printed but also capably edited. Mr. Christy, who stresses the Oriental influence in his introduction, prints on the same page both manuscript and text of the poem as found in *Kéramos and Other Poems* (1878). In his notes he gives in parallel form parts of the poem and Longfellow's source in Alexander Chodzko's *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*.

REMINISCENCES OF EDGAR ALLAN POE. By Mrs. Mary Gove Nichols. New York: The Union Square Book Shop. 1931. 14 pp. (Pamphlet.)

Reprinted from *The Six Penny Magazine* for February, 1863, with a letter from Professor Thomas Ollive Mabbott which serves as a preface.

SELECTED POEMS OF WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY. Edited, with an Introduction, by Robert Morss Lovett. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1931. xcii, 200 pp. \$2.50.

"The present volume is a selection of the poems of William Vaughn Moody, as published in the two-volume edition of his work in 1912. . . . My first intention was to exclude the poetic dramas, but these are so characteristic of Moody's mature style that a full comprehension of his career as poet is scarcely possible without them. I have therefore included the songs and lyric passages in the hope that some readers will be moved to turn to the works in their completeness.

"In the Introduction I found it impossible to write of Moody except from my personal recollection of him. This I have supplemented by the memories of others. . . ." (Editor's Preface.) Professor Lovett's admirably written Introduction gives a vivid picture of Moody and a valuable critical appreciation of his poetry.

THE SONNETS OF FREDERICK GODDARD TUCKERMAN. Edited, with an Introduction, by Witter Bynner. New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. 158 pp.

Mr. Bynner, who has had access to the poet's manuscripts, has edited the sonnets, some of them never before published, of this almost forgotten but important New England poet whom the anthologists have overlooked. In his introduction he gives a sketch of Tuckerman's life; letters to Tuckerman from Tennyson, Longfellow, and Gladstone; and passages from other poems of Tuckerman not in sonnet form.

THE DIARIES OF JULIA COWLES: *A Connecticut Record, 1797-1803*. Edited, from the Original Manuscripts in the Possession of Anna Roosevelt Cowles, by Laura Hadley Moseley. New Haven, Conn.: The Yale University Press. 1931. xiii, 94 pp. \$2.00.

These diaries of Julia Cowles (1785-1803), beginning in her twelfth year and extending to her eighteenth, not only throw light upon Miss Sally Pierce's school but reveal the thoughts of a young "lady of quality" of her time.

THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS. By Henry Adams. Introduction by James Truslow Adams. New York: The Modern Library. x, 517 pp. 95 cts. \$0.95.

Mr. Adams contributes an excellent brief introduction.

STORIES OF THE SOUTH, OLD AND NEW. Edited by Addison Hibbard with an Introduction, Biographical Notes, and Bibliography by the Editor. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. [1931.] xvii, 520 pp. \$3.00.

An excellent collection, competently edited.

INNOCENCE ABROAD. By Emily Clark. New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. 270 pp.

Most of the essays in this interesting volume deal with contemporary Southern authors: James Branch Cabell, Ellen Glasgow, Amélie Rives,

Frances Newman, Julia Peterkin, DuBose Heyward, Paul Green, and Gerald Johnson. Especially interesting is the chapter on *The Reviewer*. Mrs. Clark speaks from first-hand knowledge of the Richmond group which sponsored the magazine.

DREAMERS ON HORSEBACK (COLLECTED VERSE). By Karle Wilson Baker. Dallas, Texas: The Southwest Press. [1931.] 195 pp.

*Dreamers on Horseback* includes most of the poems which appeared in *Blue Smoke* (1919) and *Burning Bush* (1922) and also a considerable number of new poems.

FINDING LITERATURE ON THE TEXAS PLAINS, *with a Representative Bibliography of Books on the Southwest*, by J. Frank Dobie. By John William Rogers. Dallas, Texas: The Southwest Press. [1931.] 57 pp.

The book includes a sketch of Mr. Dobie, the author of *Coronado's Children*, *Legends of Texas*, etc., and an article by him on "Life and Literature of the Southwest."

NORTHWEST VERSE: *An Anthology*. Edited by Harold G. Merriam. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. [1931.] 355 pp.

Professor Merriam, of the State University of Montana, has brought together some three hundred poems by about one hundred writers from the states of Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.

FLORIDA POETS, 1930. Edited, with an Introduction, by Ethel Brooks Koger. Newport, Ky.: The International Writers' League, 1930. xx, 116 pp.

NORTH CAROLINA POETS, 1930. Edited, with an Introduction, by Anne Windsor. Newport, Ky.: The International Writers' League. 1930. x, 79.

EMILY DICKINSON: *A Bibliography*. With a Foreword by George F. Whicher. Amherst, Mass.: The Jones Library, Inc. 1930. Second Edition, 1931. 63 pp.

This excellent bibliography notes the material on Emily Dickinson—not very much—which is not found in the Jones Library. Among the illustrations are pictures of Emily Dickinson's birthplace and her home on Pleasant Street. The frontispiece is a facsimile reproduction of her "Success."

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON. By Lucius Beebe and Robert J. Bulkley, Jr. Cambridge, Mass.: The Dunster House Bookshop. 1931. 59 pp. [Edition Limited to 300 Copies.]

A beautifully printed bibliography of Mr. Robinson's American and English publications; carefully collated.

POETRY AND THE CRITICISM OF LIFE: *The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures for 1929-1930*. By H. W. Garrod. Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press. 1931. viii, 168 pp. \$2.00.

Contains an excellent essay on Emerson.

THE CHALLENGE OF MODERN CRITICISM: *Tradition—Criticism—Humanism*. (A Series of Lectures Transcribed by Grace Kiner.) By Percy Holmes Boynton. Chicago, Ill.: The Thomas S. Rockwell Company. 1931. 127 pp. \$1.25.

The book consists of six chapters: "From Sherwood Anderson," "America Wakes Up," "Mr. Mencken Does His Bit," "The Defence of Tradition," "America and the Old World," "America at Home," and "The Hubbub over Humanism."

MAGGIE *together with* GEORGE'S MOTHER *and* THE BLUE HOTEL. By Stephen Crane. With an Introduction by Henry Hazlitt. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. 218 pp. \$2.00.

"It would be easy to yield to the temptation to discuss all three stories in the present volume as if they were mere apprentice work leading up to the stark magnificence of 'The Red Badge.' But each is secure in its own right; Crane's directness and force is in all of them. 'The Blue Hotel' is one of the most vivid short stories ever written by an American. . . ." (Editor's Introduction.)

A CHILD'S REMINISCENCE. By Walt Whitman. Collected by Thomas O. Mabbott and Rollo G. Silver, with an Introduction and Notes [by Professor Mabbott]. (Number One of the University of Washington Quartos, edited by Glenn Hughes.) Seattle, Wash.: The University of Washington Book Store. 1930. 44 pp. Edition Limited to 475 Copies. \$5.00.

The material in this volume is taken from *The Saturday Press* (1859-1860), edited by Robert W. Pearsall and Henry Clapp, Jr., a friend of Whitman and one of the group which met at Pfaff's restaurant. It in-

cludes an important early version of "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," an article by Whitman entitled "All about a Mocking-bird"; an editorial, "Walt Whitman," apparently written by the poet himself; an unfavorable review from *The Cincinnati Commercial*; and some other material published for advertising purposes.

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF JAMES P. BECKWOURTH, Edited by T. D. Bonner. Edited, with an Introduction, by Bernard DeVoto. Americana Deserta Series. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. xl, 405 pp. \$4.00.

Beckwourth is described on the title page of the 1856 edition as "Mountaineer, Scout, and Pioneer, and Chief of the Crow Nation of Indians." Francis Parkman wrote in his copy of the book: "Much of this narrative is probably false. Beckwith is a fellow of bad character—a compound of white and black blood, though he represents otherwise." Mr. DeVoto, who has supplied an admirable introduction, places a somewhat higher estimate upon the historical value of the book. "Why, finally," he asks, need it be checked? *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* is neither history nor fiction. It belongs to a nobler *genre*: it is mythology."

WHY SINCLAIR LEWIS GOT THE NOBEL PRIZE: *Address by Erik Axel Karlfeldt, Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy, at the Nobel Festival, December 10, 1930, and Address by Sinclair Lewis before the Swedish Academy, December 12, 1930.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1931.] 23 pp. (Pamphlet.)

J. B. H.



## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- The Elder Dana's Use of Coleridge's Principles. Florence Wallace (Iowa).  
Mary Wilkins Freeman. Constance Magee (Pennsylvania).  
Rufus W. Griswold. Joy Bayless (Columbia).  
Albert Pike. Susan B. Riley (George Peabody College).  
The Relationship of Mark Twain and William Dean Howells. Theresa Buxton (Bucknell).

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- The Novel of the Soil and Industry in America since 1890. Ira S. Franck (Virginia).  
Spanish Influences in American Literature. E. L. Wallace (Iowa).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- The American Play-party Song. B. A. Botkin (Nebraska).  
Balzac aux États-unis. Benjamin Griffith (University of Paris).  
Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 45, rue de Mauberge. 1931. 267 pp.  
The Influence of Isaac Disraeli on Edgar Allan Poe. Emily Calcott (Virginia).

### IV. MASTER'S THESES:

- The Rev. James W. Eastburn. Evangeline Fairman (Maine).  
The Prose of Philip Freneau. Mr. ——— Marsh (Maine).

### V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

- Adelaide Crapsey. Mary E. Osborn (Hood College, Frederick, Md.).  
Cooper, the Interpreter of the Real and the Historical Indian (*Journal of American History*, June, 1930); The Southwest Border Indian in the Writings of Simms (*Education*, November, 1930); Narratives of Indian Captivity. J. Almus Russell (Colgate).  
The Impressionism of Henry James. E. E. Hale (Union College). (*Union College Faculty Papers*, II, 1.)  
New England Lecturers in Iowa. H. H. Hoeltje (Iowa).

Professor Jeremiah Bascom Reeves, Westminster College, Fulton, Mo., is compiling a collection of American familiar letters. He plans to bring together in a volume about three hundred of the best American letters. There is no limitation as to time, place, person, theme, or style except that the letters must be interesting and throw light upon American life and thought. It is not necessary of course that the letters should have

been published. He will be grateful for any suggestions that readers of AMERICAN LITERATURE may send him.

Captain Frank Lester Pleadwell and Professor Thomas Ollive Mabbott (Hunter College) are preparing a biography of Joseph Rodman Drake and as complete a collection of his letters and poems as possible to accompany it. They would be very grateful to any reader of AMERICAN LITERATURE who would help them locate a portrait by Henry Inman, said to have been owned by the late Charles P. Clinch for over fifty years, and the following letters and manuscripts: 1. Letter to sister, September 18, 1812; 2. MSS. of the *Poetic Epistles* to Fitz-Greene Halleck, 1818; 3. Poem, "In a fair lady's heart once a secret was lurking," 1818; 4. Poem, "To an Elderly Coquette"; 5. Poem attributed to Drake, sold as item 524 in the Haber Sale, Anderson Galleries, December 2, 1909, listed with the poem, "Abelard to Eloise"; 6. Any other unpublished letter or poem; 7. Drake's copy of Keats's *Endymion* (1818). Address: Captain F. L. Pleadwell, Metropolitan Club, Washington, D. C.

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*Southern Methodist University,  
Dallas, Texas.*

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

The editors of *AMERICAN LITERATURE* are indebted to those who have helped compile this bibliography. They are: Messrs. Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Walter Blair (Chicago), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin), Arthur Christy (Columbia), J. F. Craig (Ohio State), C. T. Hallenbeck (Columbia), G. E. Hastings (Arkansas), Robert Kane (Ohio State), E. E. Leisy (Southern Methodist), Tremaine McDowell (Minnesota), J. H. Nelson (Kansas), Floyd Stovall (Texas), T. A. Zunder (Brooklyn College of the City of New York), and the following graduate students at Duke University: Miss Ima H. Herron and Miss Hallie McNair, and Messrs. W. S. Hoole, Hampton Jarrell, D. K. Jackson.

The list includes the following publications (not all of which are covered in this issue):

Adelphi  
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Proceedings  
American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings  
American Historical Association, Report  
American Historical Review  
American Journal of Philology  
American Literature  
American Mercury  
American Philosophical Society, Proceedings  
American Political Science Review  
American Speech  
Americana  
Anglia  
Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen  
Beiblatt zur Anglia  
Blackwood's Magazine  
Bookman  
Buffalo Historical Society, Publications  
Burton Historical Collection, Leaflet  
Canadian Historical Review  
Catholic Historical Review  
Chronicles of Oklahoma  
Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications  
Contemporary Review  
Criterion  
Dalhousie Review  
Dialect Notes  
English Journal (College Edition)  
English Review  
English Studies (Amsterdam)  
Englische Studien  
Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association

Essex Institute Historical Collection, Quarterly  
Forum  
Fortnightly  
Georgia Historical Quarterly  
La Grande Revue  
Harper's Magazine  
Harvard Graduates' Magazine  
Illinois State Historical Society, Journal  
Indiana Magazine of History  
Indiana History Bulletin  
Iowa Journal of History and Politics  
John Rylands Library, Bulletin (Manchester)  
Journal des Debats  
Journal of American Folk-Lore Society  
Journal of American History (N. Y.)  
Journal of English and Germanic Philology  
Journal of Modern History  
Journal of Negro History  
Kentucky State Historical Society, Register  
Language  
Les Langues Modernes  
Letters (U. of Ky.)  
Literary Digest  
Living Age  
London Mercury  
London Times Literary Supplement  
Louisiana Historical Quarterly  
Manchester Guardian  
Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings  
Mercure de France  
Methodist Review  
Michigan History Magazine  
Minnesota History  
Mississippi Valley Historical Review  
Missouri Historical Review  
Modern Language Journal  
Modern Language Notes  
Modern Language Review  
Modern Philology  
Modern Quarterly  
Monist  
More Books (Bulletin of B. P. L.)  
Nation  
New England Historical and Genealogical Register  
New England Quarterly  
New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings  
New Mexico Historical Review  
New Mexico Quarterly  
New Republic  
New Statesman and Nation  
New York Herald Tribune, "Books"  
New York Public Library, Bulletin  
New York Times Literary Supplement  
North American Review

North Carolina Historical Review  
 North Dakota Historical Quarterly  
 Notes and Queries  
 Nouvelle Revue Française  
 Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly  
 Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society Publications  
 Open Court  
 Oregon Historical Society Quarterly  
 Outlook and Independent  
 Overland Monthly  
 Palimpsest  
 Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography  
 Personalist  
 Philological Quarterly  
 Poet Lore  
 Publications of the Modern Language Association  
 Publisher's Weekly  
 Quarterly Journal of Speech  
 Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association  
 Quarterly Review (London)  
 Review of English Studies  
 Revue Anglo-Américaine  
 Revue Bleue  
 Revue des Cours et Conférences  
 Revue des Deux-Mondes  
 Revue Hebdomadaire  
 Revue de la Littérature Comparée  
 Revue de Paris  
 Rhode Island Historical Society, Collections  
 Rice Institute Pamphlet  
 Romanic Review  
 Royal Historical Society, Collections  
 Saturday Review of Literature  
 Scandinavian Studies and Notes  
 School and Society  
 Scribner's Magazine  
 Sewanee Review  
 Smith College Studies in Modern Languages  
 South Atlantic Quarterly  
 South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine  
 Southern California Historical Society Quarterly  
 Southwestern Historical Quarterly (Austin, Tex.)  
 Southwest Review  
 Spectator  
 Studies in Philology  
 Tennessee Historical Magazine  
 Theatre Arts Monthly  
 The Thinker  
 Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine  
 University of California Chronicle  
 University of California Publications in Modern Philology  
 University of Colorado Studies  
 University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature  
 University of Kansas Bulletin

University of Missouri Studies  
 University of Texas Studies in English  
 Vermont Historical Society, Proceedings  
 Virginia Magazine of History and Biography  
 Virginia Quarterly Review  
 Washington Historical Quarterly  
 Washington University Studies in Language and Literature  
 Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine  
 Western Reserve Historical Society, Publications  
 William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine  
 Wisconsin Magazine of History  
 Wisconsin State Historical Society, Proceedings  
 Yale Review  
 Yale University Library Gazette

I. 1607-1800

- [BARTRAM, WM.] Fagin, N. B. "Bartram's Travels." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVI, 288-291 (May, 1931).  
 [BYRD, WM.] Ryan, E. L. "Letters of the Byrd Family." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIX, 139-145 (Apr., 1931), and 221-229 (July, 1931).  
 [FRANKLIN, B.] Ames, H. V. "The Public Career of Benjamin Franklin. A Life of Service." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LV, 193-207 (July, 1931).  
 [WASHINGTON, GEO.] Haraszti, Z. "A Notable Bequest of Washingtoniana." *More Books: The Bull. of the Boston Pub. Lib.*, VI, 49-57 (Feb., 1931).

An account of the late Walter Updike Lewisson's collection of Washingtoniana willed to the Boston Public Library.

- [WIGGLESWORTH, M.] "Michael Wigglesworth's *Meat out of the Eater*." *Yale Univ. Lib. Gaz.*, V, 45-47 (Jan., 1931).  
 Jones, M. B. "Notes for a Bibliography of Michael Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom* and *Meat out of the Eater*." *Am. Antiq. Soc., Proc.*, XXXIX, Part I, 77-84 (Apr., 1929).

An attempt to gather the present available data respecting early editions of Wigglesworth's two poems and to ascertain the whereabouts of existing copies of these editions.

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Dye, W. S. "Pennsylvania versus the Theatre." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LX, 333-372 (Oct., 1931).

Discussion of Pennsylvania's efforts during the colonial period to restrict and regulate theatrical and other forms of amusement.

- Jones, H. M. "The Importance of French Literature in New York City, 1750-1800." *Stud. in Philology*, XXVIII, 235-251 (Oct., 1931).  
 Lincoln, W. "Bibliography of American Cookery Books, 1742-1860." *Amer. Antiq. Soc., Proc.*, XXXIX, Part I, 85-225 (Apr. 17, 1929).

A bibliography of cookery books from 1742-1860, listed by the year. Stevenson, L. "Mute Inglorious Whitmans." *Univ. of Calif. Chron.*, XXXIII, 296-317 (July, 1931).

Enthusiasm, uncouth form, and factual detail characteristic of the poetry of the colonial period.

Tyler, L. G. "New England's Contribution to Virginia." *Amer. Antiq. Soc., Proc.*, XL, Part I, 17-26 (Apr., 1930).

A brief account of the emigrant people who came to Virginia from New England during the seventeenth-century; the importance of the people in society and the permanent impressions left behind them.

## II. 1800-1870

[ALCOTT, A. B.] Hoeltje, H. H. "Amos Bronson Alcott in Iowa." *Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Politics*, XXIX, 375-401 (July, 1931).

Details of Alcott's tours in Iowa, 1870-81, and newspaper reports of four "conversations."

[ALCOTT, LOUISA M.] Winterich, J. T. "Romantic Stories of Books, Second Series: *Little Women*." *Pub. Weekly*, CXX, 607-611 (Aug. 15, 1931).

[ATWATER, CALEB] "A Country Fit for Princes." *Palimpsest*, XII, 144-159 (Apr., 1931).

This article, an adaptation of Atwater's "Remarks Made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien," is a personal description of the Iowa that Caleb Atwater saw from the deck of a Mississippi River steamboat in the summer of 1829.

[COOPER, JAS. F.] Paine, G. "Cooper and *The North American Review*." *Stud. in Philology*, XXVIII, 267-277 (Oct., 1931).

Winterich, J. T. "Romantic Stories of Books, Second Series, XXII, *The Spy*." *Pub. Weekly*, CXIX, 2882-2886 (June 20, 1931).

[DANA, R. H., JR.] Johnson, M. "American First Editions: Richard Henry Dana, Jr., 1815-1882." *Pub. Weekly*, CXIX, 2891-2892 (June 20, 1931).

[EMERSON, R. W.] Clark, H. H. "Emerson and Science." *Philological Quar.*, 225-260 (July, 1931).

Gohdes, C. "A Gossip on Emerson's Treatment of Beauty." *Open Court*, XLV, 315-320 (May, 1931).

A consideration of Emerson's use of the term *beauty*.

Marchand, E. "Emerson and the Frontier." *Am. Lit.*, III, 149-175 (May, 1931).

Mr. Marchand asserts that Emerson's cardinal doctrines "derive their chief sanction and meaning from the psychology bred by the

American frontier." His connections with the frontier in various aspects are well illustrated.

Wilkinson, U. A. "Emerson: Militant Pollyanna." *The Thinker*, III, 4, 33-44 (Apr., 1931).

Emerson's extreme fastidiousness, his almost physical shrinking from all the facts of life which were not dainty, runs through his utterance. Yet as a stimulator of other men's thinking, as a courageous propagandist for liberty of expression, he stands preëminent.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Withington, R. "A Note on *The Autocrat*, III and IV." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVI, 293 (May, 1931).

[KERR, ORPHEUS C.] Meredith, M. "Local Discolor." *Am. Speech*, VI, 260-263 (Apr., 1931).

R. H. Newell, in *Orpheus C. Kerr Papers* (1863), satirizes "the adoption of Indian names for American places."

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] White, C. T. "Lincoln and Three Methodists." *Meth. Rev.*, XLVII, 38-45 (Jan.-Feb., 1931).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Hatfield, J. T. "An Unknown Prose Tale by Longfellow." *Am. Lit.*, III, 136-149 (May, 1931).

In 1834 Horace Greeley offered a prize of one hundred dollars for the best prose tale submitted by September 20. Longfellow, writing under the *nom de plume* "George F. Brown," shared the prize with "Miss Leslie of Philadelphia." Longfellow's Irvingesque story, "The Wondrous Tale of a Little Man in Gosling Green," is reproduced from *The New Yorker* of November 1, 1834.

[MELVILLE, H.] Howard, L. "Melville and Spenser—a Note on Criticism." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVI, 291-292 (May, 1931).

All save one of the quotations prefacing the sections of *The Encantadas* are from Spenser.

Morris, L. "Melville: Promethean." *Open Court*, XLV, 513-526 (Sept., 1931).

To be continued.

Riegel, O. W. "The Anatomy of Melville's Fame." *Am. Lit.*, III, 195-204 (May, 1931).

Mr. Riegel denies that Melville's contemporaries were "blind to the significance" of his novels, and that until the recent manifestation of interest he was "completely forgotten." After tracing the history of Melville's reputation as an author, the essay concludes with the suggestion that the "Melville cult is not so large as the mass of recent notices of Melville would seem to indicate."



[PAULDING, J. K.] Winterich, J. T. "Early American Books and Printing, Chapter I, *Westward Ho!*" *Pub. Weekly*, CXX, 1267-1271 (Sept. 19, 1931).

To be continued.

[POE, E. A.] Daugherty, K. L. "A Source for a line of Poe's *Ulalume*." *Notes and Queries*, CLXI, 27 (July 11, 1931).

Similarity of a line to one from N. P. Willis: "Were sere and withering."

Englekirk, J. E. "The Song of Hollands, an Inedited Tale Ascribed to Poe." *New Mexico Quar.*, I, 247-270 (August, 1931).

A mediocre tale freely translated into the Spanish bi-monthly review, *La América*, October 8, 1883, from a "foreign newspaper" which ascribed it to Poe. Mr. Englekirk makes out a good case to show that this was a hoax perpetrated by Aurélien Scholl, a French journalist.

Lemonnier, L. "Edgar Poe et le Roman scientifique français." *La Grande Rev.*, XXXIV, 214-223 (August, 1930).

Lemonnier, L. "L'Influence d'Edgar Poe sur quelques conteurs réalistes." *Rev. de Litt. Comp.*, XI, 451-465 (July-Sept., 1931).

Erckmann-Chatrian, Henri Rivière, and Eugène Mouton influenced by Poe. With them the influence was partly that of natural and psychical science through Poe as an intermediary. These French realists never followed Poe in his invention of backgrounds and settings.

Mabbott, T. O. "The Astrological Symbolism of Poe's *Ulalume*." *Notes and Queries*, CLXI, 27 (July 11, 1931).

Astrological allusions in the poem seem to indicate a reference to Poe's amour with Mrs. Osgood.

Mabbott, T. O. "Poe and the Philadelphia Irish Citizen." *Jour. of the Am. Irish Hist. Soc.*, XXIX, 121-131 (1930-1931).

The hoax, "The Ghost of a Grey Tadpole," attributed to Poe, was apparently written by Thomas Dunn English.

Stovall, F. "Poe as a Poet of Ideas." *Univ. of Texas Stud. in Eng.*, No. 11 (Sept. 1, 1931).

The writer asserts that the current opinion that Poe was not a poet of ideas is erroneous. "Poe really believed . . . that poetry, like all the other arts, may depict or suggest truth, but may not preach or reason of it." The purpose of this essay is "to trace the idea of beauty through the body of Poe's poetry and to show how through it he reaches out to draw in such other ideas as may be made to harmonize with it."

[SIMMS, W. G.] Jarrell, H. M. "Falstaff and Simms's Porgy." *Am. Lit.*, III, 204-213 (May, 1931).

Simms used Falstaff as a "sort of painter's model" for his Porgy, but was restrained from developing a more picaresque character because of his notion that a South Carolinian above the "cracker" class had to be a southern "gentleman."

[STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER] Anonymous. "Last Days for Uncle Tom." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, LXXX, 18 (July 12, 1931).

*Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a play "lost its grip when America 'went modern'."

McDowell, T. "The Use of Negro Dialect by Harriet Beecher Stowe." *Am. Speech*, VI, 322-326 (June, 1931).

[THOREAU, H. D.] Canby, H. S. "Thoreau and the Machine Age." *Yale Rev.*, XX, 517-531 (March, 1931).

"Thoreau challenges the industrial order because he asks the fundamental question, where are you going, what do you really want?"

Munson, G. "The Lesson of Thoreau." *The Thinker*, III, 3, 7-20 (Mar., 1931).

"Every man is tasked to make his life, even in its details, worthy of his most elevated and critical hour . . . to be awake is to be alive!" So spoke Henry Thoreau, unique specialist in anti-specialization, whose philosophy of conduct made an art of living.

Whitcomb, Robert. "The Thoreau 'Country'." *Bookman*, LXXIII, 458-461 (July, 1931).

The author explains the difficulties and disillusionments that will beset any admirer of Thoreau who undertakes a pilgrimage to Concord.

[WHITMAN, W.] Anonymous. "In 'The Week': an incident relative to Walt Whitman's being placed in the Hall of Fame." *New Republic*, LXVII, 30 (May 27, 1931).

Birss, J. H. "A Note on 'O Captain! My Captain!'" *Notes and Queries*, CLXI, 233 (Sept. 26, 1931).

This poem of Whitman's has been set to music by various composers.

Cairns, W. B. "Swinburne's Opinion of Whitman." *Am. Lit.*, III, 125-136 (May, 1931).

Swinburne's references to Whitman are mostly casual, but indicate that his initial enthusiasm was not maintained. Professor Cairns finds several reasons for this fact: Whitman's failure to improve in the musical qualities of his verse, Swinburne's distrust of the American's later political and critical ideas, and the praise of Whitman's

treatment of sex, bestowed by those who attacked Swinburne's ideas on the same subject.

Maxwell, W. "Some Personalist Elements in the Poetry of Whitman." *Personalist*, XII, 190-199 (July, 1931).

Monroe, W. S. "Swinburne's Recantation of Walt Whitman." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, huitième année, no. 4, 347-352 (Avril, 1931).

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Printed by editors from Essex Institute MSS. "Letter from John G. Whittier to Superintendent of Schools of Cincinnati." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXVII, 408 (Oct., 1931).

Whittier acknowledges an account of the celebration of his birthday by the schools of Cincinnati in 1879.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Adams, R. G. "It was Old Parson Weems Who Began It." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, LXXX, 10 (July 5, 1931).

Weem's *Life of Washington* "set a popular literary fashion for America."

Anonymous. "A British View of Us in 1824." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, LXXXI, 15 (Sept. 20, 1931).

"Recently printed diary of eighteenth-century Earl of Derby gives an account of his tour."

Blair, W. "The Popularity of Nineteenth-Century American Humorists." *Am. Lit.*, III, 175-195 (May, 1931).

The enormous popularity of American writers of humor between 1830 and 1896 is amply illustrated.

Hamilton, J. G. de R. "Abigail Adams: A Joy Forever." *Scribner's Mag.*, LXXXVII, 64-74 (Jan., 1930).

Informative study of Abigail Adams, wife of the second president and "an everlasting contradiction to the popular conception of Puritanism."

Hicks, G. "A Conversation in Boston." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXIX, 129-142 (Apr.-June, 1931).

The Peabody's, Hawthorne, Emerson, and Margaret Fuller.

Lincoln, W. "Bibliography of American Cookery Books, 1742-1860." *Amer. Antiq. Soc., Proc.*, Part I, 85-225 (Apr., 1929).

A bibliography of cookery books from 1742 to 1860, listed by the year.

Marshall, H. E. "The Story of the Dial." *New Mexico Quar.*, I, 147-165 (May, 1931).

An essay retelling the history of the transcendental *Dial*.

Perry, C. E. "The New Hampshire Press in the Election of 1828." *New Hampshire: The Granite State Monthly*, LXI, 454-458 (Dec., 1929).

An account of the warfare between the Federalist (Whig) *New Hampshire Statesman and Concord Register* and the Democratic *New Hampshire Patriot*.

Riddell, W. R. "Notes on Negro Slavery in the United States a Century Ago." *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XVI, 322-327 (July, 1931).

A discussion of an anti-slavery pamphlet by an American, Robert Baird, *A Letter to Lord Brougham on the Subject of American Slavery*, London, 1835.

### III. 1870-1900

[CABLE, G. W.] Bloom, M. "G. W. Cable: A New Englander in the South." *Bookman*, LXXIII, 401-403 (June, 1931).

The author thinks that though Cable was a New Englander by temperament, the fact that he was "not quite a Northerner, nor yet quite a Southerner, the resultant inner conflict may well have been the source and inspiration of his creative work."

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Untermeyer, L. "Thoughts After a Centenary." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, VII, 905-906 (June 20, 1931).

On the need of further consideration of the life and poems of Emily Dickinson.

[GARLAND, HAMLIN] "Some of My Youthful Enthusiasms." *Eng. Jour.*, XX, 355-362 (June, 1931).

[HAY, JOHN] Hicks, G. "The Conversion of John Hay." *New Republic*, LXVII, 100-101 (June 10, 1931).

A discussion of John Hay's conservative attitude toward industrialism, with especial reference to his novel, *The Breadwinners*, which is termed "the first polemic in American fiction in defense of property."

[HENRY, O.] Seibel, Geo. "O. Henry and the Silver Dollar." *Bookman*, LXXIII, 593-597 (Aug., 1931).

An anecdote of O. Henry in Pittsburg, with letters.

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## AMERICAN COMMENT ON GEORGE SAND, 1837-1848\*

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IN discussing the American comment on George Sand, comment which is among the curiosities of comparative literature, I have selected the eleven years from 1837 to 1848 for purposes of analysis. The earliest magazine comment I have found is of 1837, nor does it appear that she was well known in the United States much before this year. And I have concluded this brief chronicle with the year 1848 since the revolutionary troubles of that date disturbed all merely "literary" evaluations.

By 1837 the novelist was well along on her amazing career. Her marriage with Casimir Dudevant had reached a more or less amicable ending in 1831, which was followed by the settlement of 1836. Liaisons with Jules Sandeau, Alfred de Musset, and Michel de Bourges had ended, and her curious association with Chopin had begun. She had numbered among her influential friends Sainte-Beuve, Lamennais, and Pierre Leroux, imbibing from the last a degree of poetic socialism, and from the second religious mysticism, which her friendship with Liszt had done nothing to weaken. Her earlier thesis novels—*Indiana* (1832) and *Lelia* (1833)—had attacked the institution of marriage; and *Les Lettres d'un voyageur*, which appeared serially in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* from 1834 to 1836, had further consolidated her views.

The year 1837 is also a convenient date for opening the second period of her literary career, that in which she seemed a sensitive medium for translating and transforming these personal influences into her novels. *Spiridion* (1838), we are told, is an echo of Lamennais; *Le Compagnon du tour de France* (1841), *Les Maîtres mosaïstes* (1845), *Le Meunier d'Angibault* (1845) and *Le Péché de M. Antoine* (1847) are said to reflect the socialism of Leroux; and the influence of Chopin's personality has been traced in *Consuelo* (1842-

\*I am indebted to two former students of mine, Miss Viola F. Corley, formerly of the University of Texas, and Mr. Harold A. Blaine, of Western Reserve University, for helping me to some references I should otherwise have missed.

44), *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt* (1843-45), and *Lucrezia Floriani* (1847). Finally, the group of "bucolic novels" begins with *Jeanne* (1844) and continues with *La Mare au diable* (1846). The three phases of the novelist—George Sand radical, George Sand romantic, and George Sand bucolic—are all well illustrated in these eleven years. What now did the Americans think of this extraordinary woman?

Naturally, anything like a fair or unbiased evaluation in these years was impossible. To begin with, she was French; and in the period of the moral reaction,<sup>1</sup> all things French were under the suspicion of being immoral, unless proved otherwise. In the next place, she was a woman; and though in 1848 the first woman's-rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York,<sup>2</sup> the age was inclined to think that home, church, children, and good works were sufficient occupation for the feminine mind. In the third place, she was usually associated with French romanticism, and French romanticism was not viewed with favor in these United States.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the attacks on marriage in the earlier novels of this author shocked a public still uneasily afraid that novel-reading itself was a sin.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my *America and French Culture*, particularly Chapters xi and xii, and the "Conclusion", pp. 569-572.

<sup>2</sup> See C. R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*, index sub "Women".

<sup>3</sup> Indecency and vulgarity, sensationalism, licentiousness, and sensuality are particular charges, and "immorality" a general one. See for specimen comments *The New York Mirror*, XIII, 147 (November 7, 1835); *The North American Review*, LIII, 105 (July, 1841).

<sup>4</sup> See, for typical comments, *America and French Culture*, pp. 58-60. When the novel was "moral", it might perhaps be read. Thus, in *The Hesperian* (I, 298, August, 1838) we find: ". . . it will not be unreasonable to expect that even novels, ere long, will be made a delightful medium of instructing youth in the purest principles of morality, religion, and all the practical duties of life . . . correcting their social amusements and recreations and purifying all the means and modes of youthful enjoyment." Two months earlier *The Southern Literary Messenger*, (IV, 419, July, 1838) held that the novelist had a two-fold duty: "to keep our minds pure and free from vile passions, and to unfold to our view the rigorous and costly lessons of experience." La Fontaine and Le Sage are cited as representatives of two classes of novelists: those who paint life as it should be, and those who paint life as it is. La Fontaine, however, "walks with a voluptuous complacency through the field of the passions, purifying them all", and Le Sage is too coldly calculating, so that his readers become proficient in vice, not virtue. How difficult it was to meet this high morality may be gathered from an article in *The New York Mirror* already noted (see footnote 3), for the writer finds fault with "even the modest and moral Addison" on the score of indelicacy, and the editors add that "the laxity of European authors may suit with the corrupted atmosphere breathed by these advocates of old abuses" but "the purer system of our own meridian" accords better "with the youthful vigor of our institutions."

The earliest notices of George Sand in American periodicals exhibit on the whole a hostility which seldom varies. The first,<sup>5</sup> though brief, raises the question of her morality, both as a writer and as a woman:

Madame Dudevant, one of the most eminent, if not the most moral of the French novelists, has obtained a divorce from her husband, to whom, however, she is obliged to pay an annuity of 5000 francs; and she is authorized to educate her children herself. She will now probably cease to write against marriage. (*Foreign Quarterly Review*, American Edition, XVIII, 269, January-April, 1837).

The word *divorce* is significant, for this is a period when, if divorce was legally permitted in the United States, socially it was little tolerated.<sup>6</sup> Two years later, the next important notice<sup>7</sup> returns to the question of morality; a review of *The Young Lady's Home*, by Mrs. Louisa C. Tuthill (1839) is in question:

In fact, we find little in any of the principles inculcated by her, from which we must dissent, but we greatly regret that a work designed to promote so important an object, and serve, in some measure, as a guide in female education, should bear so many marks of hasty execution, and want of care, and be deformed by faults in composition of the very worst kind. It would also have been well for this lady, before she ventured to recommend books to the young friends, for whom she writes, to have known something more of their contents, than we must presume, she did from the following passage: "In cultivating a knowledge of [the French] language however, beware of becoming familiar with modern French literature. Better to be ignorant of it entirely than to learn it from the debasing, corrupting pages of French fictitious writing. Among modern authors, Mesdames Guizot, De Saussure, and Necker, the poet Beranger, and some others, furnish unexceptional reading." The same others, probably, includes Paul de Kock, George Sand, and De Balzac. In the whole chapter on modern languages, she is clearly beyond her depth; we recom-

<sup>5</sup> Of course, one cannot be sure, amidst the vast and ill-organized mass of American periodical literature, whether this is the actual first notice.

<sup>6</sup> C. R. Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 153. See the whole passage.

<sup>7</sup> I omit such colorless notices as this, found both in *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, *loc. cit.*, and *The American Monthly Magazine*, (n. s. III, 415, April, 1837): "The year 1835 gave birth to 177 new novels in France, and only 11 of these were translations. The number of authors in this line amounted to 144; of these 40 were debutants; 27 were females—being about one-fifth of the whole. The most celebrated names in the list were Alfred de Vigny, Balzac, and George Sand. . . ."

mend to her to omit it altogether in the future editions of her book. . . . (*The New York Review*, V, 246-247).<sup>8</sup>

In April, 1841, a reviewer of *Sketches of Conspicuous Living Characters* (by, or at any rate translated by, R. M. Walsh) deepens this faint outline:

The account of George Sand (Madame Dudevant) is full of piquancy and spirit. The writer, by dint of a little chicanery, obtained access, it seems, to her boudoir, with an opportunity of sketching her in deshabille. [*proh pudor!*] He found her in a gentleman's frock coat, smoking a cigar. (*Graham's Magazine*, XVIII, 203, April, 1841).<sup>9</sup>

But the true barrage is still to come.

It opens with a long article in *The North American Review* (LIII, 103-139), purporting to be a review of the *Œuvres de George Sand* (3 vols.) published in Brussels in 1839. The first portion of the article is devoted to a sketch of the sickly condition of French letters, from which I cull these sentences:

The corrupt and pernicious products of a diseased literary taste, a reckless will, and a licentious imagination are held up as a warning, or carefully probed in order to lay bare the seeds of the evil. . . . Bad books may be written with wonderful talent, and the merits of their execution may be freely admitted, while we point out and strive against their destructive tendency, and mourn over the prostitution of genius that appears in their pages. . . . The guests at the literary banquet now sup full of horrors; and all the springs of terror, violence, and crime are set in motion to stimulate their diseased and jaded appetites.

George Sand herself is "one of a numerous school," perhaps the foremost. Her writings are profoundly affecting the life of her countrymen, nor does the reviewer fail to dwell upon the "peculiar-

<sup>8</sup> The writer also advises her "to erase a paragraph or two from the one which follows, on physical education, particularly that in which she introduces the Venus de Medici; few persons have had an opportunity of contrasting a modern belle, according to her supposition, with that work of art, precisely under the same circumstances. . . ."

<sup>9</sup> "Speaking of the equivocal costume affected by this lady, Mr. Walsh, in a foot-note, comments upon a nice distinction made once by a soldier on duty at the Chamber of Deputies. Madame D., habited in male attire, was making her way into the gallery, when the man, presenting his musket before her, cried out: "Monsieur, les dames ne passent pas par icil" (*op. cit.*)



ities" of her character.<sup>10</sup> The general spirit of her work he thus describes:

The same morbid imagination, the same gloomy and passionate spirit, at war with the world and the allotments of Providence, and discontented with itself, appear everywhere in her writings, and give a sad image of the temperament and feelings of the author. None but a mind and heart thoroughly diseased could pour forth such effusions, while the impetuosity of manner, the vivid descriptions, the eloquent portraiture of passion, and the richness of style prove, but too evidently, that a noble nature has gone astray. In point of vigor and originality of genius, she may well be classed with Rousseau, or, if the comparison be confined to her own sex, she may be placed even higher than Madame de Staël. (p. 107)

Man is the unworthy and impassive recipient,—the terror, the master, the tyrant, of his feeble but nobler companion. Such is the bitter view of woman's situation and destiny, drawn by a female hand, and charged with a depth of feeling and eloquence of manner, that speak plainly of drawing from personal experience. It is the outpouring of a mind, unconscious of moral restraint or religious hope, which has needlessly courted warfare with the opinions and institutions of the world, and found the punishment of its folly and wickedness within itself. (p. 109)

A summary of George Sand's views on marriage follows, preceded by "a brief but energetic expression of her creed" found in the mouth of a favorite character, which, however, the author "dare not copy" as a whole, "even by leaving it without translation." The comparison with Rousseau is significant, both as illustrating a certain shrewdness in the reviewer and as exhibiting the American repugnance to Rousseauian doctrine:

She would destroy the whole constitution of society as it exists at present, but has nothing to offer as a substitute except some indefinite notions,

<sup>10</sup> "Respecting her personal history, little can be ascertained from the thousand rumors with which the gossips of Paris amuse themselves, while speculating on the singularities of her character and writings. It is known, however, that, being unhappily matched in early life, she chose to set at defiance the laws of morality and the opinions of the world, by eloping from her husband and forming a connexion with another person. Scandal adds many piquant particulars of her impatience under the restraints which nature or custom have imposed on her sex, and of her desire to ape the manly character; that she smokes cigars and wears a frock coat, to say nothing of other habiliments, which are usually monopolized by the lords of creation. Such tales, whether well founded or not, would not require an allusion here, if they were not in keeping with the eccentricities of her published theories, and did not manifest the impression that her works have given, respecting her private history" (*op. cit.*, pp. 106-107).

borrowed from Rousseau, respecting the freedom, simplicity, and happiness of mankind in a state of nature. The restraints imposed by human legislation are to be done away with, the yoke of superstition is to be broken, the comforts and luxuries of civilized life to be resigned, and man is to become again an inhabitant of the woods, following no rule but that of appetite and impulse. A fierce attachment to the doctrines of liberty and equality, manifested as much by hatred towards all rulers and governments, as by sympathy with the governed, or pity for the oppressed, is the basis of her political creed. Join to these opinions the wildest form of Mary Wolstonecraft's doctrine respecting the rights of woman, and you have the whole system of opinions, the inculcation of which appears to George Sand a more important object, than to interest her readers by pictures of real life, or astonish them by the products of an ardent and fertile imagination. (pp. 109-110)

Even more revealing is the writer's speculation on the nation which has nourished such a monster:

There must be something wrong in the constitution of the particular society, something unsound or corrupt in public opinion and practice, where such speculations as these take root and flourish, where not only writers are found to give them utterance, but a community to read and approve them. The present state of manners in France, we fear, too plainly exemplifies this remark. Marriages commonly formed from convenience without regard to inclination, the forms of religion remaining where the spirit and practice have long since died out, the general licentiousness of conduct which is the natural effect of such causes;—these are circumstances that would nearly justify a sensitive and partially diseased mind, which has some noble aspirations left, in giving vent to anger and regret at the view of a society and institutions producing such miserable fruits. That hotbed of civilization, a corrupt European capital, where refinement has passed into the worst form of elegant epicureanism, and debauchery is licensed by examples in high places, where the minor morals are lost sight of in the search after gain, and greater laws violated in the pursuit of sensual pleasure, presents a succession of scenes, in view of which a mind of a gloomy and imaginative cast may be pardoned for looking back with regret on the rudeness, ignorance and, simplicity of savage life. (p. 110)

And the article concludes by complaining that the novelist's "harp has but one string; the burden of her song is 'love,—still love,' " and that "nearly all her heroines fall in love before they are asked to do

so, and then go whining about, complaining of the coldness of other people's hearts, when they ought only to strive against the over-warmth of their own." (p. 130)

Such was the opinion of a leading American journal in 1841. In 1842 Brownson in *The Boston Quarterly Review* (V, 230-251, April, 1842), was led to examine contemporary French literature, ostensibly as a review of *Spiridion*. The denunciations of *The London Quarterly Review* had led him to believe, he said, that "modern French literature must possess some admirable qualities," but though he could find little indecency, licentiousness, or anti-social qualities in the work of Hugo, Balzac, Dumas, and George Sand, he found little to sympathize with. They do not, he thought, compare with Bulwer, Irving, and Charles Dickens, and he found Hugo "too much for our nerves," and Balzac's pages "soured, indignant, and misanthropic" in their effect upon the reader. French literature, he said, "will be found generally corrupting," despite his uneasy denial of the charge, because it contains too many "images of vice, crime, and horror." *Spiridion*, to which we come only by gradual degrees, is merely glanced at; as a religious work, Brownson rather admires it, but as for the fashionable nonsense that woman is the slave of man's passion, let George Sand do the work of her cook or her chambermaid, and so improve her digestion. And with a long anti-divorce and anti-suffrage argument, the embattled Brownson concludes. His mild approbation of *Spiridion* does not conceal his uneasiness when confronted with George Sand's doctrines.

The year 1843 found Margaret Fuller writing in *The Dial* (IV, 1-47, July, 1843) on "The Great Lawsuit: Man versus Men; Woman versus Women," and declaring that women like Mary Wolstonecraft and George Sand, "rich in genius, of most tender sympathies, and capable of high virtue and a chastened harmony, ought not to find themselves by birth in a place so narrow, that in breaking bonds they become outlaws." She admits that George Sand smokes and wears "male attire," but women like her "will speak now, and cannot be silenced," they foretell a new era, of which, however, "not such shall be the parents."

Those who would reform the world must show that they do not speak in the heat of wild impulse; their lives must be unstained by passionate

error; they must be severe lawgivers to themselves . . . society is in the right to outlaw them till she has revised her law, and she must be taught to do so, by one who speaks with authority, not in anger and haste. (pp. 29-30)<sup>11</sup>

The reserve shown in this passage towards the novelist's character disappears in the account of Margaret Fuller's meeting with George Sand in 1846. After reciting the story of her unhappy marital experience, and giving the tale of her lovers, the American critic said that when George Sand entered the room, what

fixed my attention was the expression of *goodness*, nobleness, and power, that pervaded the whole,—the truly human heart and nature that shone in the eyes.

The visit was a happy one, lasting most of the day, and was repeated. The novelist's way of talking was "lively, picturesque, with an undertone of deep feeling," and exhibited "skill in striking the nail on the head every now and then with a blow." But one gathers that the Frenchwoman remained something of an enigma. How reconcile such goodness with such a life?

I saw, as one sees in her writings, the want of an independent, interior life, but I did not feel it as a fault, there is so much in her of her kind. I heartily enjoyed the sense of so rich, so prolific, so ardent a genius. I liked the woman in her, too, very much; I never liked a woman better.

. . . to me the truth seems to be this. She has that purity in her soul, for she knows well how to love and prize its beauty; but she herself is quite another sort of person. She needs no defence, but only to be understood, for she has bravely acted out her nature, and always with good intentions.

<sup>11</sup> The essay reappeared in 1844 as *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. I do not know whether Margaret Fuller introduced Emerson to George Sand's work or not. At any rate he read her in 1841 and 1844. Of *Consuelo* he observed (*Journals*, 1841-44, pp. 498-9) that it "was the crown of fulfillment of all the tendencies of literary parties in respect to a certain Dark Knight who has been hovering about in the purlieus of heaven and hell for some ages. The young people have shown him much kindness for some time back. Burns advised him to 'take advice and mend'; Goethe inclined to convert him and save his soul in the friendship of Faust; he has, here in America, been gaining golden opinions lately, and now in *Consuelo* he actually mounts the shrine and becomes an object of worship under the name and style of 'He to whom wrong has been done.'" The concept of a Satanic inspiration of *Consuelo* does not lack humor. Emerson found, however, one capital merit in the book—the instant mutual understanding between the great, as between Albert and Consuelo.

This is clear enough, but we find Miss Fuller going round and round the problem:

Also, there may have been something of the Bacchante in her life, and of the love of night and storm, and the free raptures amid which roamed on the mountain-tops the followers of Cybele, the great goddess, the great mother. But she was never coarse, never gross, and I am sure her generous heart has not failed to draw some rich drops from every kind of wine-press. When she has done with an intimacy, she likes to break it off suddenly, and this happened often, both with men and women. Many calumnies upon her are traceable to this cause.

George Sand originated among foreign ladies the habit of smoking, according to this writer, who, in a subsequent paragraph observes:

I suppose she has suffered much, but she has also enjoyed and done much, and her expression is one of calmness and happiness. I was sorry to see her *exploitant* her talent so carelessly. She does too much, and this cannot last forever; but "Teverino" and the "Mare au Diable," which she has lately published, are as original, as masterly in truth, and as free in invention as anything she has done.

But as "lying is ingrained" in the French nation, Miss Fuller finds difficulty in knowing what to believe.<sup>12</sup> Though the verdict on the whole is favorable, it could have little effect on American opinion before 1848, for the *Memoirs* did not appear until 1851.<sup>13</sup> More characteristic is an article in *The North American Review* (LVI, 109-137, January, 1843), which, reviewing Alexandre Dumas, three times makes slighting references to the female novelist.

Unfavorable American opinion was inevitably re-enforced from British sources. Thus, *Campbell's Foreign Semi-Monthly Magazine* (IV, 421-423, November 16, 1843) reprints an article from *The London Court Journal* of October 14 on "Impressions of the Modern French Novelists" in which we read:

<sup>12</sup> *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, II, 193 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Unless it affected Emerson, who in 1848 had read the *Lettres d'un voyageur, Jeanne, Compagnon du tour de France, Lucrezia Floriani*. He quotes from several of these in his journals, and says that "George Sand is a great genius, and yet owes to her birth in France her entire freedom from the cant and snuffle of our dead Christianity." (See *Journals* for 1845-48, pp. 496, 500-501, 503-504, 559, 562-565. Elizabeth Hôare seems to have led him to Sand's novels.

No writer, however, since the days [of] Rousseau and his *Héloïse*, have [*sic*] done so much harm as George Sand, or have tended more to demoralize society at large.

She is totally without principle or religion, an anarchic soul in revolt against marriage, which in France is a "system of legal prostitution." *Lélia* and *Jacques* were written because she was smarting under disappointment, their purpose being to prove the laws of God and society all wrong. An "artful sophistry" covers the naked crudity of her opinions.

All her false ideas and her sophisticated reasonings are varnished over by the most exquisite language and possess an irresistible fascination, which produces the greatest moral evil.

Though she is peerless as an observer and narrator, as a novelist and a philosopher, "she is deservedly criticised and dreaded," and the writer dismisses her as "genius gone mad."

In an article entitled "Cheap Literature: Its Character and Tendencies" by a "Southron" (E. D. of Columbia, S. C.) in *The Southern Literary Messenger* for 1844 (X, 33-39, January, 1844), a new attack is made. "E. D." complains of the amount of trashy fiction which the booksellers have published, and goes on to remark:

But the unprecedented success of this movement called another class into the field; the harpies of Literature came flocking in unbidden to the banquet and defiled with their filthy touch the food which was to be set before the people; the licentious novels of Charles Paul de Kock and George Sand (Mdme. Dudevant) and other kindred spirits were translated and published in pamphlet form . . . at the time when it was thirsting for new excitement; they spread like wildfire, and were followed by others of similar character, until the public sentiment, in the large cities, became so vitiated, that works of gross immorality were openly vended in the public streets. Nor did the evil stop here, for it spread in a black and filthy stream over the length and breadth of our land.

George Sand (Mdme. Dudevant) is, if possible, worse in her morals (if the term may be applied to the absence of all morality,) than Paul de Kock, but as she is a lady, or at least a female, we will pass both her and her novels by in expressive silence.

In March of the same year this magazine also published a characteristic article on "Contemporary French Literature" which roundly denounced contemporary movements in fiction.<sup>14</sup> In fact, the cheapness of these paper-bound editions caused much alarm:

. . . if one cause more than another gives birth to the laxity of morals which is asserted from the American pulpit, and in the other public organs, to be spreading . . . it is, unquestionably, the inundation of light French literature which has lately flooded the country, and which is greedily devoured by almost every class of readers. . . . The evil is perpetrated, and made extensive, by the extreme cheapness which the absence of an international protective law enables the panderers to this corrupt taste to furnish the reprints. Any of De Kock's, Paul Feval's, "George Sand's," or Victor Hugo's novels can be procured for a shilling.

So wrote the Rev. Edward Waylen in 1846,<sup>15</sup> and his alarm was echoed by "E. D." writing this time in *The American Whig Review*, who, though admitting that the translations were highly inaccurate, yet declared:

And here we may as well remark, once for all, that those who seek in the French novelists generally for any traces of a high and pure morality will lose both their time and their labor. For life-like delineations of character, power of description, depth of passion and intensity of interest, they are indeed unrivalled; but they cannot be said to inculcate either good or bad morality, for they appear to be totally unconscious of the existence or necessity of any morality at all, save the conventional one of good society.

This paragraph appears amidst a discussion of four classes of French novelists, the fourth school, "still more insidious" than the other three being represented by George Sand and Eugène Sue, who blend the "Social Reformer" with the "Romancer." Their evil parent is Rousseau, whose "mission was simply one of destruction," "the greatest Architect of ruin the world ever saw," "a moral Marius," but the disciples are "more practical in their labors." George Sand is the apostle of one idea: the injustice, inequality, and absurdity of the marriage tie. "Herself a *divorcée*, she practices [what] she preaches." Her novels, though "remarkable for beauty of diction

<sup>14</sup> *The Southern Literary Messenger*, X, 181 ff. (March, 1844) under the heading, "Editor's Table."

<sup>15</sup> *Ecclesiastical Reminiscences of the United States*, p. 251.

and power of expression," "advocate dissolution of the tie as soon as it becomes irksome or disagreeable." "It does not," he observes, "please us to speak harshly of any person invested with the sanctity of the female form," but the lady "has unsexed herself," lost the "winning softness and delicacy" which are the "peculiar charm" of "the female character," and is generally headed for perdition. *Spiridion* is exempted from the general condemnation, but in all her novels plot is negligible, there is much "French exaggeration" and claptrap. The only good he can say of her is that she is a woman of genius—a warning to her sex.<sup>16</sup>

*The Christian Examiner* for January, 1847 (XLII, 4 ser., VII, pp. 101-118), in an article by "F. D. H." (Frederick H. Hedge?) reviewing seventeen novels, including five volumes by George Sand, also complained of cheap novels:

Whoever travels by railroads or steamboats; whoever stops at depots; whoever looks in at book-shops in the city, or "variety stores" in country villages; whoever regards centre-tables in parlours, or the window-shelves of kitchens and upper-chambers, may know something of the extent to which cheap novels circulate and are read.

Profligacy has seldom devised a more cunning or successful scheme for laying waste the pure principles of a people, than when she sent forth her dissolute panderers, in the disguise of scribbling romances, to enervate and demoralize with their wretched stuff bound up between yellow covers, the strong-hearted youth of New England.<sup>17</sup>

French novels are "licentious," including George Sand, but the writer refuses to discuss them. Let us have Frederika Bremer instead, he pleads.

Indeed, in the opinion of *The Literary World* for February 6, 1847 (I, 8-9), the evil had been done. It was too late to discuss the advisability of introducing Sand to the American people, for "a name which has excited equal terror and admiration abroad, is fast getting familiar among us." Listing translations of *Indiana*, *Consuelo*, and *Jacques*, and commenting on the fact that Sand has fallen into better publishing hands than has Paul de Kock, the reviewer (he is

<sup>16</sup> The article is a reply to one in *The American Whig Review* for June, 1845, discussed below and appears in Vol. III, pp. 239-248 (March, 1846).

<sup>17</sup> Published in Boston, this periodical was the chief Unitarian organ.



writing a notice of *Jacques*) warns against introducing this novelist's later volume into the American home. "It is a false, bad book calculated to do great evil," full of "blasphemy and gross indecency." *Jacques*, in fact, excited considerable interest. In addition to a colorless notice in *The Knickerbocker Magazine* (XXIX, 196, Feb.-March, 1847), one finds *The Columbian Magazine* (VII, 144, March, 1847) highly excited. The reviewer has never read Sand before, but now, "in spite of the abhorrence and disgust excited by the perusal," he has read *Jacques*, and is astounded to find that "the loss or rather throwing away of woman's chief ornament [is] the chief subject of French novelette writing." Sand, in fact, goes farther, and exercises her genius to show that chastity is not a virtue. And such a book has been translated by an American woman!<sup>18</sup> And is to be read by American young ladies! *The Democratic Review* (XX, 283, March, 1847) could not share this excitement, protesting that the author was not a "demon in petticoats," that *Consuelo* could cause no moral objection, and finding that *Jacques* has style, eloquence, and penetration of character, albeit it lacks "moral transparency and elevation," and, though a burning and vigorous protest against the evils of ill-assorted marriages, is of "questionable" propriety.

But "F. D. H." in *The Christian Examiner* (XLII, 4th. s., VII, March, 1847) was not yet satisfied. In an article devoted to the writings of George Sand, he denied the novelist's claim to be enrolled among the leaders of sex reform, and attributed her notions of woman's wrongs to her "peevisish and aimless complainings." "Her genius is essentially destructive," and though he has read all the principal novels, he finds in them "such ceaseless harping" on a single passion that they become "to the last degree disgusting." "We had supposed pure-minded women made the topic a stranger to their thoughts." *Jacques* is wholly vile, *Consuelo* is condemned, and he objects at great length to her representations of "vice." He grudgingly allows her a beautiful style, but the summary of qualities he allots to her is not flattering—great intellectual qualities, and few moral principles, too much Rousseau, too little Fénelon, too much Byron, too little Wordsworth. In fact, the dregs of the cup of the world "have left disease and imbecility in her constitution," and he

<sup>18</sup> He has been reading Anna Blackwell's translation.

hopes she will become a Christian! This comment recalls Emerson's statement about the cant and snuffle of Christianity.

The Shaw translation of *The Countess of Rudolstadt* drew from *Graham's Magazine* (XX, 264, April, 1847) this year the ambiguous statement that George Sand "grapples with a large number of debatable subjects as well as most male reformers," but what the reviewer gives with one hand, he takes away with the other: "with all her masculine habits of thought and action," the novelist "is still rather ignorant of many of the topics she confidently discusses."<sup>19</sup> A more elaborate protest, contrasting British and French literature, was printed in the following month in *The American Whig Review* (V, 470-481, May, 1847). The article is by G. W. Peck, and is entitled, "Shakespeare *versus* Sand." Shakespeare is the embodiment of commonsense and sanity, and the English novelists are mainly moral, but "we wish to enter our protest, as an admirer of good English novels, against the modern French ones that are now glutting this unhappy country." The author is of the opinion that "human nature is one thing and French nature another," a saying which has the "force of an axiom." In fact, Peck is almost hysterical in his Gallophobia.<sup>20</sup> The comparison of Sand to Shakespeare excites his wrath:

<sup>19</sup> "And not infrequently suggests that portion of the old song, which expressed pity that charming women should talk about what they do not understand."

<sup>20</sup> "There are also some prejudices which it is good to have, and among these, one of the best is John Bull's old prejudice against what he understands by *French*. This, we trust, we have in some degree inherited—not so much as to hate Frenchmen, or their country, but to have a firm conviction of the superiority of the Saxon over the Gallic development of humanity. . . . We cannot conceive of a religious Frenchman; a revival in Paris, or an 'interesting season' at Toulon would seem to us a solemn farce. Even when we hear of an 'eloquent Parisian preacher,' we cannot bring ourselves to credit his sincerity. French philosophy seems to us cold, acute, irregular ratiocination; French art, fashion. Whoever saw a great French picture? or since Baptiste Lulli, heard of a really great French composer? Le Sueur, Gretry [*sic*], and the rest, were great and good in their several degrees, but they do not come into our idea of Frenchmen. They are good, like every other artist now living, because and in so far as they are *un-Frenchified*. There is something in the genuine French mind which makes it not equal to our Saxon thinking. They can reason in mathematics and in all dry science, like calculating machines, but they have not the heart to understand our poetry, nor have they a poetry of their own that is like ours. The relation between men and women among them is different, and though the idea of a true French lady is a very delightful image to bring into the mind, it seems impossible that a *French gentleman* should understand her. We cannot bear the apprehension that the French should begin to do our thinking for us, should furnish us with philosophy, poetry and serious literature; we are willing they should set fashions, get up dishes, write lively novels of society, vaudevilles, comic operas, and furnish plots, and all those ingenious contrivances in which they so excel. They may

We have read, we are happy to say, *only one* of her novels, and are therefore better qualified to speak of them than if we had read more, as hands that are but a little soiled are fitter to lay on white paper than those that have been washed in mire. Perhaps if we had read more we should condescend to argue against them, which now appears absurd; our *common sense* might have become obscured. We read only the one where a woman of the most exalted virtues *aggravates* a green young man through a reasonably sized volume, and never gives him any satisfaction; but when she has fooled him to the top of his bent, turns him off forever. Consuelo we are yet innocent of, and . . . we feel almost so strong in resolution as not to need to pray to be preserved from it. . . . A man of sense, accustomed to our grand old poets, and our better novels, needs to read but one of them—*cannot* read more. For with his mind stored with images of real natural beauty, how shall he find room for the false and half-made creations of Parisian debauchees and harlots, that write they care not what, so it gives them the means to support their luxury or pamper their vanity? . . . If these writers would only leave us alone in our simple religious faith, in our common views of God, ourselves, and the world, their mere horrors and licentiousness would not be so bad, though still bad enough. But they *muddle the mind*, and make the voice of reason and conscience “an uncertain sound.” Observe the admirers of Sand. Are they not Sand-blind? yea, “high gravel blind,” most of them? Can they understand Shakespeare. . . . No! they are all wildered; nothing is too daring for them in speculation; little common thoughts that have been thought over and over by every soul that lives, they seize upon as discoveries; whatever subject they take up, they discuss with equal irreverence and defiance of sense. . . . (p. 481)

Thus with morality and italics the case is closed.

The spring of 1848 saw a renewal of the attack on cheap French translations, this time in the April issue of *Holden's Dollar Magazine* (I, 217-219, April, 1848). “The publishers looked around, and they caught sight of the wild, unnatural, libertine works of the prurient French school,” and so on, to the familiar tune, ending with the hope that their day is over.<sup>21</sup> And it would be possible to cite

amuse us and keep down our bile . . . but further than this we do not think the two families, that have kept distinct so long, can ever exchange their peculiarities or fuse into one.” (p. 480)

<sup>21</sup> Similar attacks appear in *The Southern Literary Messenger* (IV, 263, April, 1848), which drops into verse:

“One little favor, O Imperial France,  
Still teach the world to cook, to dress, to dance,  
Let, if thou wilt, thy books and barbers roam,  
But keep thy morals and thy creeds at home;”

others of similar import.<sup>22</sup> But enough has been shown to illustrate the nature of the general American opinion.

It was an opinion against which, if we are to judge from the tone of friendly comment, the more judicious strove in vain. The prevailing view does not seem to have been importantly challenged until 1845, when *The American Whig Review* (I, 617-639, June, 1845) printed a long article entitled "Modern Criticism—George Sand," which begins with a four-page denunciation of American bigotry, and pleads that a book should be judged as a whole, not condemned for a few objectionable pages. Indeed, the argument for free discussion is a sound one.<sup>23</sup> The heart of the article is devoted to a discussion of *Lélia*. The critic sweeps aside George Sand's personal morality as irrelevant:

The conjugal history of Madame Dudevant we beg to leave with her biographer and confessor—first, because, doubtless, there is no curiosity to hear

and in *The New Englander* (VI, 590 ff, October, 1848), in an article on "Modern French Literature."

<sup>22</sup> For, example, in its "Review of New Books" for July, 1850, *Graham's Magazine* (XXXVII, 65-67) notices a translation of *Indiana* by "one of the Best French Scholars in this Country, a member of the Philadelphia Bar" (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson) in the following language: "We cannot divine the publisher's object in engaging the services of 'one of the best French Scholars in this Country'. . . to translate this miserable trash into English. Some of the later works of George Sand, undoubtedly evince genius, but the novel under consideration, one of the first products of her unregulated passions and speculative profligacy, has nothing in plot, character, incident, or style to give piquancy to its coarseness. It is licentiousness, but then it is so stupid, that its perusal would be penance to a *roué*. Its immorality and falsehood might have a charm to some minds but the raciness of these qualities is spoiled by the detestable and yawn-provoking sentimentality. . . ."

<sup>23</sup> "A 'dangerous book'! Dangerous to whom? to what? To the institutions or the tenets moral, political, religious, of society? But the established opinions and systems are sound, are salutary, or they are not. If the latter, inquiry and exposure is, we take it for granted, to be desired, not to be deprecated. If the former be the fact, where is the danger? . . . Is it to be admitted that truth, in the present day, and in matters within popular competency, within general experience, is not, at least even-handed, a match for error? But in the case in contest, truth would derive incalculable odds, from the circumstances. Not to mention the physical protection of the public force, it has the sanction of establishment; it is consecrated by prejudice as well as conviction; it is aided by the propensity (salutary as a check, pernicious as a principle,) of mankind to adhere to things as they are, and the consequent difficulty of disturbing even the worst form of creed or government thus cemented by the interest of many, the ignorance of most, and the indolence of all." (p. 619). This is a curious anticipation of Mill's argument in "On Liberty" (1859).

it repeated, but chiefly, because we deem it irrelevant to the merits of her writings.

He wields a rapier gallantly in the lady's defense, saying that she was subjected to "the most oppressive, perhaps, of tyrannies," and that Colonel Delmaire in *Indiana* is a portrait of her husband presented with "occasional effusions of kindly feeling and of self-criminating candor." And he much prefers her to Lady Byron.

*Lélia* is "stamped with the noble audacity of genius" and "combines the speculative boldness of Faust, with the philosophic design of St. Leon—more systematic than the former, more comprehensive than the latter, more eloquent, perhaps, than either of these most eloquent writers." Of course, in conception, arrangement, execution, the author has "sunk appalled beneath the gigantic magnitude of her idea," but *Lélia*, in the grandeur of its imperfection, reminds one of the *Hyperion* of Keats. Indeed, the author is "too devoted" to the ideal, but with an exposition of the symbolism of the characters, the reviewer defends the book against the charge of being vague and visionary. To rise, the book must ascend above the "petty conventionalities of village morals" which have been the basis of accusations against the author; and, quoting *Lélia's* long address on her first love, he exclaims, these are not "the sentiments, the precepts of a teacher of licentiousness and irreligion." The book contains no word against marriage; "she only seeks to show the true cause of the disappointments and distresses" of marriage, and neither *Lélia* nor George Sand advocates the "Rights of Women." The essay closes with *Lélia's* last scene with Trenmor—a sublime outburst of spiritualism against materialism. A postscript calls readers' attention to a review of the work in *The Foreign Quarterly*.

George Sand also found support in *The Harbinger* for 1845-47. The Brook Farm Phalanx was naturally attracted to her by the very things that drew criticism from other sources—her political views. Indeed, Francis G. Shaw's translation of *Consuelo* appeared serially in this publication from Saturday, June 14, 1845, to Saturday, June 27, 1847, and his translation of *The Countess of Rudolstadt* followed

almost immediately.<sup>24</sup> A series of short notices by John S. Dwight, George Ripley, and Francis G. Shaw were all favorable.<sup>25</sup> But it is at least doubtful whether *The Harbinger* support was not as damaging as it was helpful.

On the other hand, the Shaw translation of *Consuelo* seems to have been received with relative favor. *Graham's Magazine* (XXIX, 106-108, October, 1846) was even enthusiastic:

George Sand has expended much composition on the rights and wrongs of woman, but in the delineation of *Consuelo* she has done more to exalt the sex than she could have achieved by a thousand thunders of declamation. Those who have imbibed strong prejudices against her, from the offensive scenes and opinions in some of her other novels, should not omit reading this, her purest and greatest work. To us it appears to be one of the best and noblest fictions within the last twenty years, and to evince a power and originality of genius unmatched by any woman of the time. . . . As regards the morality of the book, it seems to us, judging from the impression it leaves on the mind as a whole, and not taking particular scenes as a ground for judgment, to be eminently moral. The author's mind, as displayed in this book at least, seems to have the utmost horror and disgust for profligacy, both in man and woman.

And after Byron, Bulwer, and Moore, he thinks it useless to be offended with this work of George Sand.

Nor was *The Merchants' Magazine* behind in praise (XV, 332-336, September, 1846):

This work deserves . . . to win the interest of the reading public, and particularly of that large class of progressive minds who regard art as a great instrument in advancing the perfection of the race. There is much that speaks the ardent soul, and stormful heart of the author; for having drank of life, in new and original forms, to its very dregs, and analyzed every creation, the workings of every passion, in her own scarred and blackened breast, she needed but to look within herself, and write, to

<sup>24</sup> July 4, 1846, to March 20, 1847.

<sup>25</sup> John S. Dwight discussed *Consuelo* in the issue of June 14, 1845, in which Shaw's translation began to appear. When the work appeared in book form, Ripley quoted favorable notices (June 20, 1846) from other papers. January 30, 1847, Dwight reviewed Anna Blackwell's translation of *Jacques*. February 6, 1837, saw a favorable review reprinted from *The London Spectator*. Francis G. Shaw defended Sand against *The Christian Examiner*, March 13, 1847. A review from *Hunt's Journal* is quoted May 1, 1847; and on October 16, 1847, Dwight reviewed Shaw's translation of *The Devil's Pool*, and Ripley reviewed his version of *The Journeyman Joiner*.

produce the most powerful of fictions. . . . The secret of its superiority, as an intellectual production, is, that the interest called forth is not in the incidents and adventures of the principal character, but in the gradual development of a pure spirit. . . . In displaying a perfect knowledge of the wondrous spirit of art, and weaving the web of the characters, and particularly that of *Consuelo*, as skilfully and truly as nature and destiny would have done it, the author shows herself a *second Creator, as the Artist always is*. . . . The moral of the book seems to be, that the spontaneous purity of heart which marks the innocent and good, is sufficient to enable them to bear up under every evil influence, and resist every temptation.

And he looks forward to the sequel with anxiety and interest.<sup>26</sup> And *Graham's* (XXXVI, 71, February, 1848; and again in March) briefly, but flatteringly, noticed the Shaw translation of *The Devil's Pool*—"entirely different from any other work from her pen." These, and a two-line notice in *The Knickerbocker* (XXX, 380, October, 1847) of *The Journeyman-Joiner*, complete the few favorable notices I have been able to collect.<sup>27</sup>

When favorable comments were relatively so few, it was inevitable that George Sand should have been introduced to the American public as the immoral author of immoral books. The notices here assembled are interesting both in this connection, and as they illustrate the general American opinion of French romanticism, as well as of French literature and the French nation in general. How far the reception of George Sand's socialist novels was conditioned by fear that they might induce labor agitation I am unable to say. But amidst the amusing and amazing moral indignation, one fact should not be overlooked; namely, the indignant repudiation of supposed Rousseauian elements in this novelist's work. Extracts like these should lead us to be sceptical about attributions of a profound influence upon American thought and culture of the French romantic philosophy or the theories of Jean-Jacques.

<sup>26</sup> The same magazine (XVI, 646, June, 1847) has a brief, but complimentary, paragraph on Anna Blackwell's translation of *Jacques*.

<sup>27</sup> Comments on George Sand by Emerson, Longfellow, Hawthorne, and Lowell are all brief, and mostly set down in their private journals, or simply as *obiter dicta* in published works.

## THE ROMANCE FERMENT AFTER WAVERLEY

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IN THE decade following the War of 1812 the insistence that America create a native literature and destroy the vestiges of colonialism in culture was iterated again and again on the public platform and in the periodical press. Such promptings of patriotic spirit were not at all new, for the cry of nationalism in literature had been universally heard in the days of Barlow, Dwight, and Humphreys, in whose work ambition was too frequently confounded with genius and inspiration. But in the uprush of war-time sentiments the cause of domestic letters was again advanced in public addresses by Francis C. Gray,<sup>1</sup> DeWitt Clinton,<sup>2</sup> and others, orators interested in issuing demands for local scenery in works of imagination and in discovering the forces "that have hitherto impeded and those which may hereafter promote learning in this country."<sup>3</sup> Following them in post-war years were Solyman Brown,<sup>4</sup> Channing,<sup>5</sup> Everett,<sup>6</sup> and Walsh<sup>7</sup>—to single out the most familiar

<sup>1</sup> See *The North American Review*, III, 299 (September, 1816) for a review of an address by Francis C. Gray before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa on Thursday, August 29, 1816.

<sup>2</sup> Note also the remarks of E. T. Channing in *The North American Review*, III, 202 (July, 1816).

<sup>3</sup> *The North American Review*, I, 391 (September, 1815). See also "United States and England," *ibid.*, I, 61 (May, 1815).

<sup>4</sup> *American Poetry* (New Haven, 1817). For comparable insistence, see Drake's "To a Friend," in *The Culprit Fay and Other Poems*, (N. Y., 1835).

<sup>5</sup> William E. Channing, "Remarks on National Literature," *Works* (Boston, 1880). Note also: "A Discourse concerning the influence of America on the Mind, being the Annual Oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society at the University of Pennsylvania, Oct. 18, 1823." By C. J. Ingersoll (Philadelphia: A. Small, 1824).

<sup>6</sup> *The North American Review*, XI, 423 (October, 1820); XIII, 20.

<sup>7</sup> *The American Quarterly Review*, I, 339 (June, 1827). Walsh wrote as follows: "We do not hesitate to say, that next to the interests of eternal truth, there is no object more worthy the exercise of the highest attributes of the mind than that of administering to the just pride of national character, inspiring a feeling for the national glory, and inculcating a love of country. It is this we would call a national literature; and, unless we greatly err, it is these characteristics which must, eventually, constitute the principal materials of one."

On this subject of the importance of a native literature, see also: "National Literature." *The Christian Examiner*, VII, 269-295 (January, 1830).



names—who became successively the champions of cisatlantic themes in American poetry and fiction.

When we come to examine the reasons for this renewed nationalistic demand we find it had a two-fold basis. It may in part have been fostered by the new Americanism that followed the second war for independence by which the principles of America had been vindicated and her cause justified before the world. And, as in the period following the Revolution, there arose a demand for literary productions of grandeur and power equal to the political principles for which the republic stood. Thus the earnest calls for a literature of native materials were partially ascribable to the spirit of the age, expansive with the emotions of the Era of Good Feeling, proud of the signs of national growth, confident of national integrity and life.

## I

Despite this aroused patriotic impulse, however, there might have been no lasting literary results had it not been for the appearance of Scott, who, with his romances celebrating Scotland; not only gave the inspiration of his successful example, but furnished the mould into which to cast the new spirit. Scott it was, then, who became the chief factor in this renewed critical demand, and he not only aroused literary ambition but converted the demand for nationalism into a quest for Scott-like ingredients in American life. With his series of historical romances, produced with a celerity that startled the literary world, he made an impact on the reading public that it is hard to realize, summoning into the ranks of novel-readers many persons who had formerly condemned the novel as trash. As a consequence, his romances were read by young and old, scholar and kitchen maid, and were admired in terms of enthusiasm, even by the critics who proved not always free from indiscriminate praise.

It was not in the nature of things that so fashionable a literary product as his should be without fruit in the tastes and longings of Americans of the second and third decades. This master necromancer set a whole generation of Englishmen and Americans dreaming and prating about the chivalries of a by-gone age. His works were transcripts from the life of other times and these he offered with every romantic attraction. Those who sought to culti-

vate this new and fertile field realized that they were dealing with a new order of the heroic and magnificent, and that in order to reap the harvest of romance they must first glimpse with a Scott-like imagination the glamor of old forgotten things. Thus the demand for literature in America became for a time a demand for antiquity and ruins which were regarded as the romantic desiderata of the age.

But the national features of Scott's novels made the strongest appeal to the ardent spirits of that age. The actors in the Scottish novels displayed their provinciality by their mode of speech; the backgrounds were actually topographical, and there was hardly a novel in Scott's first productions—such as *Rob Roy*, *The Antiquary*, and *The Legend of Montrose*—which was not an illustration of Scottish life and manners. It was these features of the Waverley novels which fired the ambitions of patriotic writers who, already stirred with national enthusiasms, longed for American productions coexistent with those of Scott and equally national in character and interest. Thus Scott with his native backgrounds challenged Americans to a consideration of their own literature and the prospects of these shores in romantic materials. Forthwith there was announced in the reviews (particularly *The North American Review*) and from the public platform the quest for such native romance as might be treated in the manner of Scott. For a decade the agitation of the subject went on—coincident with the period of Scott's greatest literary activity. It is the further purpose of this paper to review the ferment which resulted.

## II

### INITIAL DESPAIR CONCERNING DOMESTIC ROMANCE

Although this outcry for national tales was raised shortly after the appearance of *Guy Mannering*, the actual resources of America in native romantic materials were not immediately recognized, not at least until the vogue of Irving and Cooper stirred patriotic consciousness and gave it direction. The first impact of the historical romance merely led to sceptical queries and the first conscious attempts to take a literary inventory.<sup>8</sup> Enthusiastic as this generation

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, a cursory sketch of some of the scenes and events that would be fruitful in poetry: William Tudor, "An Address delivered to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at their anniversary meeting at Cambridge," *The North American Review*, II, 32 (November, 1815).

was, it still had scant hopes of seeing the historical romance domesticated in America with all the elegance and wonder that Scott had imparted to his works. American fiction had to be made of home-spun stuff, for authorship was not considered sufficient to nationalize a tale, and here literary men seemed thwarted by the character of pioneer civilization, by the meager history, both recent and sharply defined, and by the absence of imposing monuments of antiquity of which America could boast none grander than colonial chapels and stately mansions. The first conclusion which this nationalistic survey produced, if one may judge by the absence of historical novels during the second decade, seems to have been that there was in America a dearth of indigenous materials and none equal to those of the Old World. At least before Cooper no writer appeared to demonstrate how the formula of the historical romance could be applied to American life. Walter Channing, ardent nationalist that he was, yet confessed that

we are destitute of many of the elements of literature. Thus we want a remote antiquity. In tracing our history, therefore, we are not tracing the development of human society, the most interesting pursuit which is offered the mind, for it is intrinsically the development of the mind itself. In the want of a history of the kind just indicated, we want a vast variety of the topics of the very first interest in literature.<sup>9</sup>

John Knapp and William Tudor had similarly lamented that the "antiquity of our compatriots does not extend to two hundred years."<sup>10</sup> In 1818 John Bristed asserted that America could have no great novels without aristocracy and legendary lore paralleling that of the English and Scottish border,<sup>11</sup> and for a time American writers were ready enough to join in this pessimistic conclusion. W. H. Gardiner, who summarized these sceptical utterances, reduced them to three charges: that the newness of white civilization in America and the quietude of American life frustrate the purposes of fiction, that there is a fatal uniformity of life among us, and lastly, that there is a lack of the vestiges of antiquity, of ruins so essential

<sup>9</sup> *The North American Review*, II, 39 (November, 1815). See also I, 307-14 (September, 1815); III, 194 (July, 1816).

<sup>10</sup> John Knapp, *The North American Review*, VIII, 174 (December, 1818); William Tudor, *op. cit.*, I, 309 (September, 1815).

<sup>11</sup> *Resources of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1818), p. 356.

in legitimate romance. "We are told," he exclaimed, "that there is among us a cold uniformity and sobriety of character; a sad reality and utility in our manners and institutions; that our citizens are downright, plain-dealing, inflexible, matter-of-fact people; in short, that our country and our inhabitants are equally and utterly destitute of all sorts of romantic association." But the absence of ruined castles and comparable signs of age and romantic adventure was particularly lamented:

Here are no gorgeous palaces and cloud-capped towers; no monuments of Gothic pride, mouldering in solitary grandeur; no mysterious hiding places to cover deeds of darkness from the light of the broad sun; no cloistered walls, which the sound of woe cannot pierce; no ravages of desolating conquest; no traces of the slow and wasteful hand of time. You look over the face of a fair country, and it tells you no tale of the days that are gone by. . . . These boundless solitudes are not the haunts of fierce banditti; you have never peopled these woods and waters with imaginary beings; they are connected with no legendary tales of hoary antiquity;—but you cast your eye through the vista of two short centuries, and you see them as they are, and you see nothing beyond.<sup>12</sup>

Where, then, exclaimed the would-be romance writer, where is the dust of half-forgotten things, where are ancient ruins and century-old monuments, where are the complex materials of the old world civilization, where, in a word, are American materials for romance? Desirous of following Scott, he seemed reduced to abject extremities. In consequence of long intellectual dependence on England, consciousness of essential resources was lacking.

### III

#### CRITICAL OPTIMISM AFTER *The Spy*

The initial paralyzing effect of the Waverley novels quickly passed away. The discovery was soon made by Washington Irving and others that America did possess subjects for the literary adventurer. This was a real discovery, and in the first heat of their enthusiasm the early aspirants for homespun glory found America rich in legendary matter. Cooper in *The Spy* (1821) was the first, however, to chart out our great romantic hinterland and to open the

<sup>12</sup> *The North American Review*, XV, 251 (July, 1822).

way for an endless series of American romances. Largely through him the old subserviency which taught that all fiction of worth had to be imported was cast off, and through him, also, the novel as a literary form became firmly established. As Simms declared, to Cooper "the merit is due of having first awakened us to this self-reference,—to this consciousness of mental resources."<sup>13</sup> His success convinced the credulous that an American subject, instead of being a hindrance to a work of fiction, was probably the proper and incontestable possession of American writers. At least his *Spy* pointed to the Revolutionary struggle as not altogether too recent for the purposes of fiction, and his *Pioneers* charted out a new demesne of romance in border life of colonial days. The decade of the twenties thereupon saw the rise of cisatlantic themes in native productions to the virtual neglect of imported ingredients. Suddenly there dawned the realization that our native country opened up to the adventurous novelist a wide, untrodden field, replete with new material, which gave vast scope to the imagination. Among the first to point this out and to protest against the reputed scarcity of American materials for romantic fiction was James Kirke Paulding. The remark that America "offers little in its traditionary lore to warm the heart or elevate the imagination" he pronounced "without the shadow of a foundation."<sup>14</sup>

Equally alert were the reviews of the day. *The North American Review*, under the editorship of Everett and Sparks, became the leading champion of American letters and insisted from issue to issue on the utter fitness of American scenes and events for the purposes of fiction. One of the most enthusiastic utterances was the review in 1822 of Cooper's *Spy*, in which W. H. Gardiner, answering the current charges as to the fatal uniformity of American character, queried:

Where can there be found a greater variety of specific character than is at this moment developed in these United States of America? Do any of our readers look out of New England and doubt it? Did any one of them ever cross the Potomac, or even the Hudson, and not feel himself surrounded by a different race of men? Is there any assimilation of character between the high-minded, vain-glorious Virginian, living on his

<sup>13</sup> *Views and Reviews, First Series* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), p. 217.

<sup>14</sup> *Salmagundi, Second Series*, II, 265 (August 19, 1820).

plantation in baronial state, an autocrat among his slaves, a nobleman among his peers, and the active, enterprising, money-getting merchant of the East?<sup>15</sup>

There followed in this optimistic vein a "catalogue" of characters distinctly American and peculiar to their native regions. Besides this wealth of human types, there never was a nation in history, he affirmed, which actually afforded more abundant and undeveloped matter of romantic interest:

There seem to be three great epochs in American history which are peculiarly well fitted for historical romance: the time just succeeding the first settlement—the era of the Indian wars, which lie scattered along a considerable period—and the Revolution. Each of these events, all pregnant with interest in themselves, will furnish the fictitious historian with every variety of character and incident, which the dullest imagination could desire or the most inventive deserve. What is there, for instance, in the rebellious wars of the Scotch Covenanters, to compare with the fortunes of those sterner puritans . . . who fixed their habitations on an unknown and inhospitable shore?<sup>15a</sup>

This reference to the Waverley gallery is significant. In the attempt to domesticate the Scott technique in America, reviewers were zealous to indicate American parallels to plot ingredients in Scott, or to insist upon the remarkably poetical character of American scenes, as in the review of *Yamoyden*: "Remember, that compared with some of ours, Scottish rivers are but brooks, and Scottish forests mere thickets."<sup>16</sup> This reliance upon the authority of Scott's example was more marked in Palfrey's remarks on Colonial New England as a romantic area:

We are glad that somebody has at last found out the unequalled fitness of our early history for the purposes of fiction. For ourselves, we know not the country or age which has such capacities in this view as New England in its early day; nor do we suppose it easy to imagine any element of the sublime, the wonderful, the picturesque and the pathetic, which is not to be found here by him who shall hold the witch-hazel wand that can trace it. We had the same puritan character, of stern romantic enthusiasm of which, in the *Scottish novels*, such effective use

<sup>15</sup> *The North American Review*, XV, 250 (July, 1822).

<sup>15a</sup> Cf. the three "matters" of American romance discussed in Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel* (New York, 1921), p. 16.

<sup>16</sup> *The North American Review*, XII, 480 (April, 1821).

is made, but impressed here on the whole face of society, and sublimed to a degree which it never elsewhere reached. . . .<sup>16a</sup>

In the review of *The Spy* already adverted to, there was a recipe for ambitious novelists in which they were advised to acquire the essential romantic associations by describing things, not in their familiar aspects, but as they were in colonial times, by shifting the landscape back imaginatively a generation or two to secure remoteness in point of time. In this manner would romances be freed from the ludicrous air imparted by familiarity. Gardiner maintained the same point of view in his examination of McHenry's publications in 1823 (i.e., *The Spectre of the Forest* and *The Wilderness*), and rejoiced that the demand for American subject matter had been adequately met:

It has been a question seriously agitated among our cisatlantic literati, even at so late a period as since the publication of this Journal, whether America did or did not afford sufficient materials for a new and peculiar historical romance; yet now, so prolific are we in this species of production, that the reader who keeps pace with the outpourings of the press, and studies all the wonderful works that are daily coming with the lofty pretensions of American novels, must have some industry and a great deal of patriotism.<sup>17</sup>

Thus after the survey of numerous tales, portraying the colonial and Revolutionary past, *The North American Review* felt its sanguine expectations had been fulfilled and its critical acumen vindicated. Bryant, reviewing *Redwood* in 1824, pointed with grim satisfaction to the success of Cooper:

On more than one occasion we have already given somewhat at large our opinion of the fertility of our country, and its history, in the materials of romance. If our reasonings needed any support from successful examples . . . we have had the triumph of seeing them confirmed beyond all controversy by the works of a popular American author, who has shown the literary world into what beautiful creations these materials may be wrought.<sup>18</sup>

Bryant's optimism represents, perhaps, the peak to which *The North American Review* was to go. He administered an honest rebuke to those who had objected that the habits of our countrymen were too

<sup>16a</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 209 (July, 1824).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 248 (April, 1825).

active and practical for the successful novelist, and in *Redwood* he found the text for an answer to those detractors who had declared America too new and simple for the purposes of fiction, averring that here "a great deal of history is crowded into a brief space."

Similar critical reassurance was displayed by Sands, Grimke,<sup>19</sup> and Winne.<sup>20</sup> Sands pointed to the annals of New England "from the settlement of New Plymouth in 1620 to the death of Philip, at which time the subjugation of the New England Indians . . . was completed" as a period "prolific in incident" and affording full scope to the powers of the novelist. Let the writer of talents, he counseled, devote his ability to subjects of domestic interest, for there are abundant resources at hand, in "materials of satire, description, and romance."<sup>21</sup>

Other periodical critics ingeminated with him, meanwhile, these optimistic utterances. Walsh, in *The American Quarterly Review*, sought in particular to foster American letters by holding out encouragement to aspiring writers:

At home, there is a growing taste for historical truths, and romantic fictions, connected or associated with the progress of this nation. The public mind and taste have been, and now are, in a state to encourage and reward the successful efforts of genius employed on domestic subjects.<sup>22</sup>

Walsh went on to point out the depth of this new literary mine, declaring: "This land is full of materials, such as novelty of incident, character, and situation." This faith was reaffirmed in the following issue, though there was duly stressed the "necessity of discrimination in the selection of a proper site, a proper subject, and a proper era for the exercise of invention, or imitation, in the construction of works of imagination." There has been, he declared, "no dark or romantic age in this country, connected with its European race." Yet barring out supernatural events and exaggerated superstitions, there is matter here for fiction in the hardy enterprise, inflexible faith, and fearless gallantry of our forefathers.<sup>23</sup>

If the publicists of the period were partially sanguine about

<sup>19</sup> "American Literature" in *The American Magazine of Letters and Christianity*, I, 200 (April, 1826).

<sup>20</sup> *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott* (New York: Stokes, 1930), pp. 301-302.

<sup>21</sup> *The Atlantic Magazine*, II, 245 (June, 1824); see also I, 134.

<sup>22</sup> I, 341 (June, 1827).

<sup>23</sup> II, 45 (September, 1827).



American romance, the novelists who essayed a volume or two professed no less faith, and repeated the theme of romance with variations as a musician might do. McHenry in his introduction to *The Spectre of the Forest* remarked:

Conceiving that the success of the "Wilderness" had been greatly owing to the interest attached to those real historical characters and incidents of which it gives an account, I was desirous that my new work should possess a similar source of gratification. That it should be founded on some portion of American history was therefore decided; but on what portion, it was not easy to determine. The difficulty arose not from the scarcity but from the abundance of materials which every period of the history of this new and interesting country offered. . . . One group of transactions afforded full matter for the bustle, movement, and hurry of an eventful tale; another opened a fine field for the display of contrasted passions, and a third for the delineation of resolute virtue, and the inculcation of moral duties.<sup>24</sup>

John Neal wrote in the "Unpublished Preface" to his *Rachel Dyer* that among his motives in writing there was this: "... to show to my countrymen that there are abundant and hidden sources of fertility in their own beautiful brave earth, waiting only to be broken up."

This positive assurance about the wealth of American romantic materials was equally apparent in subjoined notes to various works of the decade sounding the author's own buoyant hopes about future literary ventures. The anonymous writer of *The Christian Indian; or the Times of the First Settlers* (1825) proclaimed on the title page that this was the "first of a series of American Tales." Cooper, the American Coryphæus, announced his *Lionel Lincoln* (1825) as a "Legend of the Thirteen Republics," thus pointing to twelve prospective Revolutionary volumes. To the *Sketch of the Olden Time* (1829) was appended the descriptive note: "Founded on fact, being the first of a series of Revolutionary Tales by an Antiquary." And though these grandiose ambitions were destined to disappointment, yet for a time, until the novelists were deterred by ill-success or flagging energy, American themes seemed to afford adequate scope for legitimate romance.

<sup>24</sup> See also B. F. H. Judah, *The Buccaneers: A Romance of our Own Country* (Boston, 1827), II, section I, 1.

## IV

## THE INDIAN ADVANCED AS DISTINCTIVE ROMANTIC MATERIAL

Critics who were otherwise sceptical of romantic materials, who pronounced America void of perspective and lacking in dark and gloomy intrigue, still fancied that there were literary materials here waiting to spring into life in the customs and traditions of the North American Indians. It was only natural that sooner or later the Indian should have been advanced as the most fertile source of American romance, as the one distinctive opportunity to domesticate the Scott technique—in short, as the “something new, national, peculiar” for which English critics were clamoring. As early as 1816 Lydia Huntley had been referred by William Tudor to the *History of the Six Nations* as providing mental aliment more worthy of her genius than the sentimentalities in which she indulged.<sup>25</sup> John Knapp in the year following had bid poets not to slight the barbaric annals of the country. “Let us not only revisit the dwellings of the European settler,” he declared, but “let us hasten to acquaint ourselves with the earlier native.”<sup>26</sup> Such directions became definitely optimistic in an article of *The New York Literary Journal and Belles-Lettres Repository* in December, 1820: “From its offering so many advantages to the writer of imagination,” the reviewer declared, “the history of the Indian will, hereafter, undoubtedly form the classic lore of American literature,” an optimistic utterance he reinforced by perceiving in the border struggles occasions “for the most interesting and ingenious development of incident, for the most striking and vigorous grouping of characters, and for the most splendid and glowing description of landscape ever offered to the imagination by the history of any people.”<sup>27</sup> Four months later *The North American Review* expressed similar faith in the life and character of the Indians as offering a vast field of enterprise for all ambitious American writers. “There are the Indians,” announced the reviewer,—“a separate and strongly marked race of men—with all the bold, rough lines of nature yet uneffaced upon them.” Admirably adapted to the purposes of poetry and romance they were, too:

<sup>25</sup> *The North American Review* I, 111 (May, 1815).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 175 (December, 1818). <sup>27</sup> I, 111.

Their superstitions furnish abundant food to an imagination inclined to the sombre and terrible, their primitive habits admit of pathos in the introduction of incidents of private life, and in public there occurred events enough to find place for the imposing qualities of heroism.<sup>28</sup>

So far from offering this opinion timidly, Palfrey did not hesitate to predict that "whoever in this country first attains the rank of a first writer of fiction . . . will lay his scene here," a prophecy literally fulfilled in the literary reputation of Cooper.

For a time there was further critical encouragement for making the Indian the choice in romance. R. C. Sands, in *The Atlantic Magazine*, pointed to the anonymous *Letters from Fort Braddock* and *The Pioneers* as evidence of the adaptability of the Indian to the purposes of fiction and found his views substantiated some months later by the appearance of *Hobomok* and *Redwood*.<sup>29</sup> In 1822, *The North American Review* reaffirmed its faith in the aborigines as affording the ground-work of invention: "We see not why those superstitions of theirs . . . may not be successfully employed to supersede the worn-out fables of Runic mythology and light up a new train of glowing visions at the touch of some Wizard of the West."<sup>30</sup> *The Last of the Mohicans* in turn gave enlargement to the view of those who looked to the Indian as "infinitely more attractive [as material] than the worn-out and hackneyed subjects which form the staple of almost every work of fiction of the present day."<sup>31</sup> *The North American* reissued its former dictums, pronouncing the Indians "admirable instruments of romance" and their character "admirably calculated to form an engine of great power in the hands of some ingenious romancer, who had a true notion of this part of his subject."<sup>32</sup> Walsh similarly fixed on the Indian as a romantic figure:

<sup>28</sup> *The North American Review*, XII, 483 (April, 1821).

<sup>29</sup> *The Atlantic Magazine*, I, 133. Sands remarked: "If scenes of unparalleled torture and indefatigable endurance, persevering vengeance and unflinching friendship, hair-breadth escapes and sudden ambush; if the horrors of the gloomy forests and unexplored caverns, tenanted by the most terrible of banditti; if faith in wild predictions and entire submission of the soul to the power of ancient legends and visionary prophecies, are useful to the poet or romancer, here they may be found in abundance and endless variety."

<sup>30</sup> XV, 258 (July, 1822).

<sup>31</sup> Letter from Daniel Winne to Sir Walter Scott, August 28, 1826 (see Wilfred Partington, *op. cit.*, p. 301).

<sup>32</sup> *The North American Review*, XXIII, 166.

If a writer of this country, wishes to make its history or its traditions the subject of romantic fiction, high wrought, obscure, and somewhat extravagant, agreeably to the taste of the times, he must go back to the aborigines. It is there that the character, situation, and superstition, are to be found in abundant profusion; it is among them that life is full of romance and adventure; that high figurative eloquence and unrestrained passions of the most heroic kind are the ordinary attributes of tribes and nations.<sup>33</sup>

Then there was the eventual fate of the Indian which was soon singled out as the most romantic feature about him, particularly after the appearance of *Tadeuskund* and *The Last of the Mohicans*. Many believed that in the decay of the vast and extensive savage empire there might be felt the touch of antiquity sought for. In fact, the Indians constituted the *ruins* of America, in the romantic sense, and their impending doom before the onrush of civilized forces the most distinctive source of American romance—a view enthusiastically urged by John Neal in the first few pages of his *Otter-Bag* (1829):

There may be no places of pilgrimage in America, unless it be some lonely battleground, already forgotten by the neighborhood, overgrown with a forest . . . no place that has been sanctified by song and story, ages after ages, with beautiful tradition or fierce story, save here and there a small spot of earth shut in by the great hills or fortified by the everlasting rocks where the red man withstood the white man . . . there may be no piles of barbarian architecture, each a wilderness of turrets, towers and battlements, rocking to the sea breeze. . . . But if there are not such things in America there are things which are to be found nowhere else on earth now—the live wreck of a prodigious empire that has departed from before our face within the memory of man; the last of a people *who have no history*, and who but the other day were in possession of a quarter of the whole earth.

And there were those after Neal who were scarcely less optimistic in their avowals. Whittier in 1831,<sup>34</sup> Willis in 1836,<sup>35</sup> Hoffman in

<sup>33</sup> *The American Quarterly Review*, II, 45 (September, 1827).

<sup>34</sup> Preface to *Legends of New England* (Hartford, 1831), and Introduction to the *Remains* of J. H. C. Brainard (Boston, 1832).

<sup>35</sup> See his "Cherokee's Threat," in *Inklings of Adventure* (London, 1836), I.

1839,<sup>36</sup> were equally impressed with the fitness of the red man for the place of chief romantic figure in the American scene. W. G. Simms, whose *Yemassee* and *Cassique of Kiawah* are notable testimonies of his faith, reaffirmed these sanguine views in his comments on Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches*. And I. N. Tarbox came forward as one of the foremost champions in his review of *Tecumseh* (1842), wherein he advanced the view that the early border struggles of the Western continent were valuable substitutes for the period of chivalry in Europe and that primitive forests supplied requisite romantic associations.<sup>37</sup> Thus it was for a time the belief that the Indian provided potential material for a national literature. So far from believing that America was devoid of romantic interest and deficient in the appurtenances of an old and elaborate civilization, the first exploiters of native history and scenery were enthusiastic in the belief that they had found all the requisite features in the aborigines. If America was to have a series of Waverley novels, it seemed quite patent to the first novelists that they must make the bronze noble of nature the predominant figure in strongly moving scenes. In this fashion was enthusiastic patriotism fixing upon distinctive elements of romance.

## V

## GROWING CRITICAL SENSE OF THE POVERTY OF AMERICAN MATERIALS

Amid this chorus of approval, dissenting voices were little heeded by the romance public, or even by the novelists themselves, who had their eyes fixed on achievement. Yet from the first there was evident a strong note of dissatisfaction or caution in the remarks of those who, regardless of fashionable furor, continued to voice the old scepticism. Such individuals usually insisted with Thatcher Paine<sup>38</sup> that while America had matter for literary treatment, it was neither abundant nor richly diversified. And even when not straightforwardly pessimistic, occasional critics displayed the utmost caution in their remarks, avowing with the reviewer in *The Quarterly Christian Spectator* (1826) that materials for romance in America may not

<sup>36</sup> *Wild Scenes in the Forest and Prairie*, 1839. For other items in the revival of interest in the Indian about 1840, see my study, *The Indian in the Metrical Romance* (Urbana, 1929), p. 16 n.

<sup>37</sup> *The North American Review*, LVII, 223.

<sup>38</sup> *The Atlantic Magazine*, I, 21 (May, 1824).

be treated by bungling hands nor fostered into growth by puffing and indiscriminating praise, or querying with them: "What good have the North American Reviewers done by their repeated declamations on the adaptedness of our history to the purposes of poetry and romance? . . . What then has been the result? Why such books as the novels before us have come up on the breadth of the land like the frogs of Egypt."<sup>39</sup> Thus there were those who joined voices in challenging the unruffled optimism of the Boston review.

There were in many ranks a steadily growing sense of the exhaustion of domestic subject matter, and a feeling that for certain fictional properties Americans would always have to turn to the European scene, or import foreign absurdities where they did not belong. For there was not only the difficulty of trying to domesticate English methods among native materials, so sadly bemoaned, but a dawning recognition of the very absence of conventional trappings. Such was the plight of the author of *Redfield* (1825), who, desiring to cater to the taste of the public for a highly romanticized tale, took a whole chapter to lament the dearth of plot ingredients of a supernatural order. He said in part:

We regret extremely that it has not been in our power to procure a single witch wherewith to embellish our story, owing to a fatal circumstance regarding that haggard race, in this country; . . . None ever found their way across the sound to Long Island. It would be highly gratifying to us likewise to treat our friends with a sight of a few gypsies; and this we are sorry again to state is entirely out of our power. . . .

Ghosts, and goblins, we presume, might be procured, but we have such an aversion to handling those airy subjects that we hope our readers will excuse us for not troubling their haunts or disturbing their abodes.

Giants, knight-errants, and enchanted old dilapidated castles have luckily for us, become so hackneyed, that we should refrain from mentioning them had we scores at our elbows.

We must, therefore, with all these privations incident to newly settled countries, pursue our plain matter-of-fact story, with an undeviating regard to our friends, without the ordinary tinsel of romance.<sup>40</sup>

Similar testimony is afforded in *Northwood* (1827), by Mrs. S. J. Hale, in the writing of which the desire to introduce transatlantic

<sup>39</sup> "Imitations of Waverly Novels," VII, 80.

<sup>40</sup> Chapter XXI.

ingredients brought such grief that she was forced to rely solely upon domestic life, simple manners, and retired scenes.<sup>41</sup>

James Hall, one of the most prolific writers of the West, stressed in particular the inadequacy of American scenes in local traditions and national superstitions. All this poverty of the land he ascribed to the newness of the country, to the lack of a hoary antiquity:

Superstition disports in the misty clouds of antiquity; she revels in dilapidation. . . . Castles and dungeons in ruin are the chosen abodes of those aristocratic elves, who choose to be the successors of none but lords and ladies. . . . Our new world has no supernatural inhabitants, indigenous or exotic—nor does our country offer any inducements to the influx of foreigners of this description. We have no castles mouldering into ruin, no enchanted forests, nor deserted mansions. . . . Our whole territory does not present a dilapidated turret, or an unfrequented gallery—We have no subterranean passages except the *saltpetre caves* in Kentucky, and a few caverns, similar to that in which General Putnam slew the she-wolf.<sup>42</sup>

But though Hall found America deficient in the peculiar ingredients of romance introduced by Scott, he held that frontier life was rich in fresh adventures that more than atoned for the absence of conventional romantic materials, a view in which he was supported by Timothy Flint.<sup>43</sup>

After the first flush of enthusiasm even *The North American Review* reversed its decision. Having witnessed the imitative mass in 1824 and 1825 totaling over twenty-seven tales, reviewers everywhere became convinced of the poverty of the conventional themes and of the endless repetition which mass production necessarily involved. Bearing on its surface the marks of familiarity, the American scene offered little complexity of design; novelty was the only hope of escape from poverty of matter, and this quickly lapsed into monotony or sheer extravagance. Grenville Mellen, reviewing *The Red Rover*, dilated upon the barrenness of American settlements in the peculiar ingredients found in Scott:

The elements of society, considered *implicitly* as the society among the early settlements of this country, offer little in the shape of sects or classes,

<sup>41</sup> Chapter I, 1.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters from the West* (London, 1828), p. 326.

<sup>43</sup> See *George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman* (Boston, 1829), p. 76.

that is calculated to meet or satisfy the popular taste. Our retrospection affords us no privileged and important tribes of *togati*, full of lore and prophesy; no bands of merry archers whose very thievery is full of romantic adventure; and no minstrels overflowing with chivalry and song. We have no Robin Hoods, or Blue Gowns, no Vidals or Cadwallons, and no gypsies to lend just mystery enough to our stories, and preside over the destinies of our heroes and ladies. We have none of these dim and ancient things to season our fiction withal.<sup>44</sup>

*The American Quarterly Review* commended Robert Montgomery Bird in turning to the Occidental Crusades for subject matter, remarking upon the unpromising possibilities in the States themselves. "The rise of republican liberty," proclaimed the reviewer, "is too much the creation of common sense to be very applicable to the purposes of fiction; the wars of plain puritans with still plainer barbarians have but one feature of novelty; and the great vicissitudes of our Revolution are altogether of too recent a date to have yet gathered about them the atmosphere of poetry."<sup>45</sup>

As the Indian had been the chief reliance of romance, his value as a fictional character was accordingly most carefully tested. Among those who attempted to give huge design and complicated incidents to Indian tales, there was a growing sense of the rapidity with which such literary soil was exhausted. Indian life and character, susceptible of successful handling in one or two attempts, were done forever, and thereafter the effort to impart interest to the portrayal of Indian manners and scenes became a tax upon the ingenuity of the author and the patience of the reader. Critics and novelists alike perceived the difficulty of diversifying the treatment, for almost inevitably the Indian had been handled after two or three set patterns; and there was the even graver task of making complex in fiction what was essentially simple in character. Sole reliance was to be placed on action, for the aborigine could not be portrayed as engaged in the intricacies of thought. Even his feelings were relatively limited. "When you have told of generosity, contempt of danger, patience under suffering, revenge and cruelty you have gone through with the Indian's virtues and vices, and touched all the

<sup>44</sup> XXVII, 143 (July, 1828).

<sup>45</sup> XVI, 376. See also P. Q. on "National Literature" in *The American Monthly Review*, I, 379 (September, 1829).



chords that move his feelings or affections."<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the best statement of this barrenness of Indian life, with its limited action and background is summed up by Grenville Mellen in his review of *The Red Rover*:

It strikes us that there is not enough in the character of life of these poor natives to furnish the staple of a novel. The character of the Indian is a simple one, his destiny is a simple one, all around him is simple. But mere simplicity is not all that is needed. . . . He must be mentally engaged. The savage says but little; and after we have set him before our readers with his gorgeous crown of feathers, his wampum, and his hunting-bow, it would seem that we have done as well as we could for him. . . . The Indians *as a people* offer little or nothing that can be reasonably expected to excite the novelist, formed as his taste must be on a foreign standard.<sup>47</sup>

Similar despair of the theme was indulged in by *The American Athenæum*. Indian life and manners were pronounced so rude and simple in character and so limited in range that "almost every production into which they are introduced partakes more or less of the same character and abounds in incidents and sentiments that are similar, and evidently copies of one common original."<sup>48</sup> All this was said much more succinctly eight years later by the reviewer of Bird's *Calavar*: "The fall of the Indian is interesting and affecting, but it is only the repetition of a sigh—melancholy and monotonous."<sup>49</sup> Thus when compared with the substance of Scott as a standard of romantic excellence, the wars of the Puritans and the rise of the American states were lacking in all but the feature of novelty, and along with them the chronicles of the barbarian soon lost all save their initial interest and too quickly lapsed into mere doleful plaints.

Cooper, too, began to realize the rapidity with which the topic of the Indian was exhausted and looked to the more complex substance of romance in continental society or what he considered the higher levels. It was the review of his *Red Rover* which probably determined him to turn to Europe in that trio of romances beginning with *The Bravo*. Inkling of his despair of American fiction may be gained from the preface to *The Red Rover*, where he declares

<sup>46</sup> *The North American Review*, XVII, 211 (January, 1825).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 141 (July, 1828).

<sup>48</sup> I, 441 (Feb. 16, 1826).

<sup>49</sup> *The American Quarterly Review*, XVI, 376.

that "the history of this country has very little to aid the writer of fiction, whether the scene be laid on the land or the water," or in *The Heidenmauer*, in which he points out the inadequacy of fictional material in the States:

Little else is found to arrest the eye of the antiquary in the shape of a ruin, except on the walls of some fortress or the mounds of an intrenchment of the war of independence. We have, it is true, some faint remains of times still more remote, and there are even a few circumvallations, or other inventions of defense, that are believed to have once been occupied by the redman; but in no part of the country did there ever exist an edifice, of either public or private nature, that bore any material resemblance to a feudal castle.<sup>50</sup>

His final recorded utterance on the subject is even more positive: "This country probably presents as barren a field to the writer of fiction . . . as any other on earth; we are not certain that we might not say the most barren."<sup>51</sup> But it must be remembered, however, as a corrective to such charges, that the Cooper of this criticism had as yet to complete his Leatherstocking series with such favorites as *The Pathfinder* and *The Deerslayer*, and to write such definitely American tales as *Satanstoe* and *The Oak Openings*.

## VI

### SURVIVAL OF FAITH IN RICHNESS OF AMERICAN THEMES

This critical and novelistic despair<sup>52</sup> must in part be pronounced an episode, a temporary reaction which, though persisting over a span of years, was not damaging to American letters since scepticism undoubtedly had a salutary effect in giving pause to those too severely tempted by pride of pen, and in thinning out the ranks of

<sup>50</sup> Opening of Chapter V. See also *The Traveling Bachelor*, II, 103.

<sup>51</sup> *Home As Found* (Philadelphia, 1836), I, iv.

<sup>52</sup> The scepticism about American romance persisted many years. One finds it as late as *The Marble Faun*, in the Preface to which Hawthorne voiced the need for depth as well as breadth in the theme of romance, wherein he felt America lacking:

"Italy as the site of his romance was chiefly valuable to him as affording a sort of poetic or fairy precinct, where actualities would not be so terribly insisted upon as they are and must needs be in America. No author, without a trial, can conceive of the difficulty of writing a romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a commonplace prosperity in broad and simple daylight, as is happily the case with my dear native land. . . . Romance and poetry, ivy, lichens, and wall-flowers need ruins to make them grow."

aspirants to literary fame. And it needs to be affirmed that all through the thirties there were critics and novelists, little dismayed by the discouraging prospects held out to them, who retained their faith in native fiction. *The Token* in 1829 rejoiced at the favorable prospects of historical fiction in America and the natural scenery which it presented the world. America could still be envisaged as a realm of romance, even though there were here no seats of ancient civilizations, no monuments more material than forest and stream, as *The Western Monthly Magazine* (1834) pointed out:

If there ever existed a field for the exercise of intellects in all the departments of literature, it is spread abroad throughout this magnificent country. How many splendid fictions did Sir Walter Scott draw from the history of his *native* land? The scenes and events of England have been portrayed with unflagging interest, over and over again, and yet they never wear the same aspect. History melts imperceptibly into fable, and the realms of imagination are boundless. It is true, the annals of these countries extend a much longer way into the vista of the past than ours. They embrace time-worn castles, feudal wars, kingly skill and the dreadful arbitration of arms, from the time of Caesar until now. But what country ever crowded into the space of two or three hundred years, so many stirring events as ours?—events, too, whose history is as yet, in many instances, unwritten?<sup>53</sup>

It has been pointed out that in no less than four different utterances Cooper despaired of the American scene, but he himself returned to it in *The Deerslayer*, *Wyandotté*, and many other novels of the forties, and critics drew conclusions from his works quite the reverse of his own. *The Southern Literary Messenger* said of him:

He has explored the empire of American fiction, before untrodden, and proved to the world that Europe was not alone the land of story. He has shown that ivied walls, time-worn castles and gloomy dungeons were not necessary to make a world of romance, that the war of the revolution rivaled, in romantic interest, the wars of the crusades; that the Indian warfare equally with the turbaned Saracen, was the theme of the romancer; and that heroes need not always to be clad in iron mail, nor heroines have only knightly lovers sighing at their feet, or breaking heads and lances to attest their devotion.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> II, 297.

<sup>54</sup> IV, 377 (May, 1838). See also II, 678.

Simms, who also glanced at Cooper's efforts in this field, was more directly concerned with Cooper's own charges. While recognizing that the "writer of European romance unquestionably possessed greater resources in history than he who confined himself to what is purely American," yet Simms was far from being persuaded of the inadequacy of American resources, and delivered a series of lectures before the Historical Society of Georgia<sup>55</sup> on the topic of "American History for the purposes of Art."<sup>56</sup> Of Cooper's opinion that American materials were depleted, Simms declared that Cooper thought them too easily exhausted, and pronounced his view a very great error, declaring that it was Cooper's inability to deal with groups and not the limitations of the material which led to the pessimistic view at which he arrived in several of his prefaces.<sup>57</sup>

The finest expression of this insistence that America afforded historical materials, and, in a sense, the summation of all that might be said about the adaptability of these materials to the moulds of Scott, is to be found in an address<sup>58</sup> by Rufus Choate delivered at Salem in 1833, the theme of which is clearly indicated in the title: *The Importance of Illustrating New-England History by a Series of Romances Like the Waverley Novels*.<sup>58a</sup> Choate found in the romances of Scott the proper medium for the reawakening of the colonial past and the illustration of colorful moments in the subsequent history of the American Republic. Broadly speaking, Scott succeeded by an-

<sup>55</sup> In the next year the anonymous author of *Delusion* (Boston, 1840) opened the tale with the following note:

"New England scenery is said to be deficient in romantic and poetic associations. It is said that we have no ruins of ancient castles, frowning over our precipices; no time-worn abbeys and monasteries mouldering away in neglected repose, in our valleys.

"It is true that the grand and beautiful places in our native scenery are not marred by the monuments of an age of violence and wrong; and our silent valleys retain no remnant of the abodes of self-indulgent and superstitious devotion; but the descendant of the Pilgrims finds, in many of the fairest scenes of New England, some memento to carry back the imagination to those heroic and self-sacrificing ancestors."

<sup>56</sup> Simms, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-102.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>58</sup> Samuel G. Brown, *The Works of Rufus Choate* (Boston, 1862), I, 319-347.

<sup>58a</sup> That Choate was not first to take up this subject upon the public platform is clear from the following passage in *The North American Review*, XXVI, 412:

"It has been fully demonstrated by many an orator and writer of our country, that the character of our first settlers, the peculiar features of their age, their troubles, their struggles, their wars, government, manners, opinions and institutions, all fresh and singular, with the wild scenes amidst which they moved, and the wild men by whom they were surrounded, furnished the most admirable materials for literary fabrics of purely national manufacture, and original patterns, both in poetry and prose."

imated narrative and a lively presentation of historical and imaginary figures in teaching men that the "obscurity of two centuries is not forgotten beyond resurrection, "but that the reader can be transported to past ages and given a satisfactory picture of the manners, ideas, and customs which characterized them. In his warm and imaginative prose Choate longed ardently for such a genius to arise who might "begin with the landing of the Pilgrims, and pass down to the War of Independence, from one epoch and one generation to another, like Old Mortality among the graves of the unforgotten faithful, wiping the dust from the urns of our fathers, gathering up whatever of illustrious achievement . . . their history commemorates, and weaving it all into an immortal and noble national literature." Choate's resonant oration had a twofold insistence: that the method of Scott was well adapted to New England materials, and that materials lay scattered about in profusion, in the early documents of the foundation of America, in the record of her struggles with the Indians, and finally in the colorful aspects of the fight for independence. Nowhere else can one find a faith as optimistic and profound as that which Choate displayed, and in no other writer of the period does there seem to be that careful understanding of what was required in those who would undertake historical fiction. Choate's was the last important appeal, for though enthusiasm was thereafter sporadically displayed, yet as a critical movement, fanned by puffs of critics or fostered by periodical encouragement, the romance ferment ends a few years after the death of Scott, though the impetus which fiction had received was enough to produce books like Bird's *Calavar*, Simms's *The Partisan*, and Kennedy's *Rob of the Bowl*. But of anything like a general ebullition of feeling, the traces were soon lost.

## VII

What deductions on the subject of American romance can we make from this ferment so seriously and zealously debated by the novelists and reviewers of two decades? These may be stated simply and clearly. It is apparent that the demand for a national literature which the Revolution first awakened was greatly augmented by the War of 1812. It is equally apparent that for two decades this demand for literary productivity in the nation became more specifically

a demand for a literature national in material as well as in authorship. The primary cause for this new stress, for transforming the movement for an American literature into a jihad for American subject matter was the success of Scott. It was his achievement in the realm of Scottish history that caused the American to turn attention to indigenous materials and examine them with a view to treatment after the pattern of the Waverleys. For several years timid literary spirits were abashed by the unprecedented *tour de force* with which Scott's novels were issued, but with the appearance of *The Spy*, which showed in a measure how the thing could be done, the whole reservoir of the American past was opened up and poured into fiction at the rate of seven or eight novels a year. Thus it was the success of Scott, which, synchronizing with aroused national and literary enthusiasms, led Americans to look about them for themes for historical fiction, and to discover the possibilities of novelistic material more valuable than mere sentimentalities.

It is also apparent that the Waverley novels were held up everywhere as the standard of historical fiction by which American materials were judged. In this way the ingredients of Scott's novels became the marks of romantic excellence which novelists and critics sought to match in American history. Whether or not this was possible became the great critical question of the "twenties" and the subject of dithyrambic appeals.

It was *The North American Review* which made the idea of American romance virtually dominant. Beginning with a series of articles in the second decade, in which American intellectual life was subjected to the closest scrutiny, it passed on to actual phases of thought which might be utilized in fiction. Very soon, with the successful example of Cooper in mind, it formulated what became one of the characteristic utterances of two decades: materials for romance are to be found on every hand. To read Gardiner and Bryant is to realize what optimism could be poured forth on the subject of native history and scenery! This was probably at its height in the year 1826, just after the crop of semi-centennial offerings. Of course, not many years elapsed before sceptical queries were raised, and the Boston review strongly quizzed. Unanimity of opinion was no longer apparent, though the public spirit never sank into universal despair, at least not after the presses had given text to optimism.

What were the causes of such scepticism as was heard? Was it due, as many seemed to assume, to the poverty of historical materials, meager as they actually were? Or was it due to the absence of a proper perspective and the inability to recognize the significance of the great American Experiment? Neither can account for the pessimism which about 1827 began to afflict critical circles. Novels in great numbers were being written, and if they were not crowded with throngs of strange beings, if they were not compactly written, if the desire to write was stronger than critical judgment, at least there was no cause for despair in the material itself. Despair of the product, however, was logical and a natural result of literary inexperience and mistaken zeal. There was then and later opportunity for workmen of full powers, like Simms, Kennedy, Bird, of the next decade, whose products, if not seven days wonders, were not proper objects of apology.

The romance ferment may be said to have died down after 1833, although the active faith of novelists and short story writers was for years little affected; the succession of legends and tales continued; and 1835, eight years after Cooper's first lament, was almost a banner year for historical fiction with such favorites as Simms's *Yemassee* and Kennedy's *Horseshoe Robinson*. Thus the wave of critical scepticism seems to have little chilled the ardent spirits of the time, Willis, Whittier, Hall, or retarded the historical romancers—Sawyer, Hoffman, Myers, Ingraham, Herbert, Cooke. The resilient spirit of the thirties, so far from being discouraged by an erstwhile scepticism of the preceding decade, went on to reaffirm its faith in a fictional paradise in America. And after that, if there was any despair, it was by those like Hawthorne who were delving too intensely in a barren area, or by earnest writers of the forties and fifties who found it impossible to stem the tide of sentimentalism ushered in by Dickens, Bulwer, and the Brontes.

# MELVILLE'S USE OF SOME SOURCES IN THE ENCANTADAS

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## I

WITHIN the past nine or ten years, several critics<sup>1</sup> have called attention to the artistry of Herman Melville's prose in *The Piazza Tales*.<sup>2</sup> The more significant problem of the relationship between Melville's technique and his source material in this portion of the novelist's work awaited the discovery by Professor Harold H. Scudder<sup>3</sup> of the source of *Benito Cereno* in one of the chapters of Captain Delano's *Voyages*. After printing the relevant portions of Delano's book, Professor Scudder then indicated the changes which Melville had made in his source material and commented upon the significance of these alterations.

While reading *The Encantadas* recently, I was struck by the appropriateness of the various quotations which preface each of the "Sketches," and also by the fact that, while these quotations were

<sup>1</sup> Raymond Weaver, *Shorter Novels of Herman Melville* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1928), introd., p. xxv:

"With *The Piazza Tales* we come upon one of the most totally amazing of all the surprises of Melville's career. . . . the two chief stories of the volume—*Benito Cereno* and *The Encantadas*—are slowly coming to be chosen as marking the supreme technical achievement of Melville as an artist."

Michael Sadleir, *Excursions in Victorian Bibliography* (London: Chauncey & Cox, 1922), p. 220:

"*Benito Cereno* and *The Encantadas* hold in the small compass of their beauty the essence of their author's supreme artistry. . . . They mark the highest technical level of their author's work. . . ."

John Freeman, *Herman Melville* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 61:

" . . . and only a little less wonderful is an episode in another of the series, *The Encantadas*, or *Enchanted Isles*."

H. M. Tomlinson, *The Literary Review* (*New York Evening Post*, II, No. 9, Sat., Nov. 5, 1921):

"It is in 'Piazza Tales,' I think, that we come nearest to the Melville of 'Moby Dick.' The authentic Melville, with all the many voices stilled in his mind and speaking for himself, is manifest, however, in the 'Encantadas.' . . . That is the real thing."

<sup>2</sup> First published in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, March, April, May, 1854. Republished in *The Piazza Tales* (New York: Dix & Edwards, 1856); in *The Piazza Tales* (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1923); and Weaver, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> "Melville's *Benito Cereno* and Captain Delano's *Voyages*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLIII (1928), No. 2, 502-532.



obviously not of Melville's composition, they were not ascribed to their respective authors. This fact has not been mentioned<sup>4</sup> by any of the critics, as far as I have been able to ascertain, although, as we shall see, it has a very important bearing upon the technique of Melville's prose style, for, upon investigation of the sources of these passages of poetry, I discovered that Melville had altered several of them and that the alterations which he made revealed the interesting fact that he had a purely artistic purpose in mind in so doing. Furthermore, Melville's citation of one of the sources<sup>5</sup> upon which he drew for the material of Sketch Ninth, together with his statement<sup>6</sup> that there are "only three eye-witness authorities worth mentioning touching the Enchanted Isles," further aroused my curiosity, and I soon discovered that Melville had made more extensive borrowings than he has admitted. A study of the composition of *The Encantadas* therefore involves two main problems: (1) the sources of the poetical quotations and the significance of Melville's use of them; and (2) Melville's dependence upon certain printed authorities and maps for the prose material generally, together with the importance of the alterations and adaptations which he made in incorporating these prose sources in his own Sketches. A third suggested problem, which I shall discuss briefly here, before considering the two main ones, is that of the relation of the story of Oberlus to Porter's account<sup>7</sup> and certain authorities whom Mel-

<sup>4</sup> About five months after my article had been sent to the editors, Mr. Leon Howard published a note in the May, 1931, issue of *Modern Language Notes*, entitled "Melville and Spenser—A Note on Criticism," in which he gives the sources for all but two of the various passages of poetry. He does not give the sources for the second and third quotations which introduce Sketch Eighth. The second quotation for this Sketch is an adaptation of the second stanza of Thomas Chatterton's *Song from Aella*, and the third quotation, which occurs only in two editions of *The Piazza Tales* (the first edition dated 1856 and the Constable edition of 1923), was taken without change by Melville from the *Dirge in Cymbeline*, by William Collins. Mr. Howard is interested in matters of criticism. I am interested in Melville's artistic purpose in the use of his source materials, both prose and poetry, and therefore I find it necessary to include the sources of the poetical passages along with the sources of certain of the prose passages.

<sup>5</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 221. The passages referred to will be found in Vol. I, pp. 131-135, 1822 ed. of Captain David Porter's *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean*. It appears that Melville was in error here in referring to Vol. II, as the 1815 ed. of Porter has this incident in the same volume and chapter (vi) as the 1822 edition. The only other edition of Porter's book, the 1823, although much abridged, also has the story in Vol. I.

<sup>6</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 184. According to Melville, these authorities are: "Cowley, the Buccaneer (1684); Colnet, the whaling-ground explorer (1798); Porter, the post captain (1813)."

<sup>7</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, the note on p. 221.

ville fails to mention by name. An examination of several accounts of sea voyages made by various navigators was rewarded by my finding two references to this incident. One of these was a very brief statement in Delano's *Voyages*,<sup>8</sup> while the other was a rather lengthy narrative by John Coulter, M.D.,<sup>9</sup> of this same event, but with several rather important changes. In fact, Coulter's version strongly suggests that the story of Patrick Watkins was current among the voyagers into that part of the Pacific, and that in the course of its travels the story was altered. Hence, though I have not been able to locate another version, the discovery of Coulter's narrative shows that Melville may also have heard the details of the life of this wild hermit from some source other than that which formed the basis for Coulter's and Porter's statements, and it is very plausible indeed that the account which Melville received differed somewhat in details from that of Coulter or Porter. Melville would therefore feel justified in changing some of Porter's assertions.<sup>10</sup> I do not believe that Melville read what Coulter has to say about Patrick Watkins, and the following comparisons of the versions of Coulter and Porter appear to support my contention:

1. Porter and Coulter place the incident on Charles's Island. Melville states that his authorities place it on Hood's Island.
2. Coulter says that Pat was the cause of discord on board ship, and, as a result, he was left on the island. Porter simply tells us that Pat left an English ship.
3. Coulter presents Pat in a somewhat more favorable light, from the standpoint of morals and physical attractiveness, than either Porter or Melville. According to Porter, Pat was drunk most of the time, and Melville joins with Porter in this characterization.
4. The details of the capture of Pat by the crew of an *English* (Coulter was in the British Navy) smuggler and his subsequent flogging on board this ship, as presented by Coulter, differ from the accounts of Melville and Porter. Coulter says that the Captain of an *American* whale ship invited Pat on board and then flogged him, hand-cuffed

<sup>8</sup> *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels*, etc., (Boston: E. G. House, 1817), p. 372: ". . . and it is my opinion, from what I saw, together with the information I have obtained since I was there of the progress that an Irishman was making in cultivating the interior of this island," etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Adventures in the Pacific* (Dublin: Wm. Curry, Jun. & Co., 1845). Courtesy of the Congressional Library.

<sup>10</sup> Weaver, *loc. cit.*, footnote 7.

him, and set him ashore again. Pat received this treatment at the hands of the American captain because the latter accused Pat of harboring two sailors who had escaped from the American ship.

5. Porter does not mention the fact that Pat had two files concealed in his seal-skin cap, as Coulter states. Porter says that Pat had an old file stuck in a tree, and that by means of this he filed off the handcuffs. Coulter claims that Pat took one of the files, drove it into a tree, and secured his freedom by rubbing the cuffs against the file. Melville follows Porter.
6. The letter signed by "Fatherless Oberlus" (see page 219, Weaver, and pages 133-134 in Porter) does not appear in Coulter's account. Melville changed Porter's version of this letter.
7. According to Coulter, Pat meets his death by being stabbed while getting ready to shove off in a boat with a Spaniard's wife. Porter tells us that Pat was caught in Payta, Peru, and put in jail as a suspicious character. Melville again follows Porter's version in this part of the story.

There are other minor differences among the three accounts, but enough has been given to indicate that this incident had a varied career. Melville follows Porter rather closely, but, as already stated, it is altogether possible that our author had heard another version which differed to some extent from Porter's. Unless another account of this story is found, it will be practically impossible to solve this part of the general problem. I shall now pass to the consideration of the first two problems mentioned above.

The discovery of source material is admittedly of special importance, but of far greater significance is the novelist's or poet's use of his sources, and it is the main object of this article to view Melville's alterations and expansions of his source material in the light of what seems to have been his sole aim in writing these "Sketches"; namely, the purpose of presenting the Enchanted Isles as places of enchantment, of solitariness, and of inhospitality. In other words, Melville psychologizes his source material in conformity with his artistic purpose. It is true that Melville is open to some censure for his failure to acknowledge his indebtedness in its entirety, or for his deliberate alteration of some of the details (especially of the poetry), without any mention of the fact that he had done so. However, I prefer to picture him in his workshop, searching through his Spenser, his

Collins, or his Chatterton, selecting poetical gems with the care and accuracy exercised by some skilled craftsman of old, some crown jeweler, in choosing the lesser jewels for the royal diadem. And, having found the proper gems, Melville discovers that some of them require a slight alteration, a little polishing, the better to adapt them to his general purpose. In the same way, I see him at work on numerous accounts of whaling captains, buccaneers, *et. al.*, extracting nuggets from the vast amount of ore which he found in these mines. The result of this process of selection and adjustment is a rather astonishing attainment of two of the most important characteristics of any work of art, balance and harmony.

## II

It is very evident that Melville knew his Spenser, for twenty of the twenty-four quotations which preface the various "Sketches" are to be found in the latter's works. Of the remaining four, one is from William Collins, one from Chatterton, one is probably Melville's own (see last quotation noted below), and one remains unidentified; namely, the third quotation for Sketch Sixth. The quotations, which, unless otherwise stated, are from Weaver's edition, were checked with the 1856 edition of *The Piazza Tales* and the Constable edition of the same work. Weaver evidently based his edition upon the "Sketches" as they appeared in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, since the third quotation for Sketch Eighth does not appear in Weaver or in *Putnam's*. Each quotation from Spenser was checked with the 1902 Globe edition of Spenser and also with the 1873 edition of Spenser by Collier. The passage from Collins was checked with Christopher Stone's edition,<sup>11</sup> and the quotation from Chatterton can be found in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton*.<sup>12</sup> Wherever Melville's passages differ from his source, the specific differences are indicated by italics. As both the Globe edition and Collier's edition are alike, as far as these passages are concerned, I shall mention only the Globe edition. Since it will appear that, from an artistic point of view, no advantage was to be gained by some of the changes which Melville made, the question naturally arises as to whether or not Melville had a corrupt edition.

<sup>11</sup> *The Poems of William Collins* (London: Henry Frowde, 1907).

<sup>12</sup> Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1922.

Regardless of the truth or untruth of this statement, it seems that some of these alterations, as will be pointed out, were deliberately made by Melville in order to bring about a closer unity between the prose and the poetry.

1st quotation, Sketch First: *The Faerie Queene* (hereafter cited as *F. Q.*), Bk. II, Canto xii, stanza xi, to which stanza are added the last three lines of stanza xii, same reference.

Line 1, stanza xii:

Melville: "For whosoever, etc."

Globe: "But whosoever, etc."

2nd quotation, Sketch First: *F. Q.*, Bk. I, canto ix, stanza xxxiii, ll. 4-9.

1st quotation, Sketch Second: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxiii, ll. 1-5.

2nd quotation, Sketch Second: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxv, ll. 6-9.

Melville: "Ne wonder if these *do a man appall*;  
For all that here *at home* we dreadfull hold  
Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall  
Compared to the creatures in *these isles'* entrall."

Globe: "Ne wonder, if these *did the knight appall*;  
For all that here *on earth* we dreadfull hold,  
Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall,  
Compared to the creatures in *the seas* entrall."

The changes which Melville made in this last quotation deserve some attention. The first alteration was probably that of *seas* to *isles*. In the original passage in Spenser *the earth* and *the sea* were contrasted, so that our author had to supply something in the place of *on earth*, and what a happy substitution he made, for by using the words *at home* Melville solved the difficulty and still preserved the contrasting element in his source! It was then a rather easy matter to banish the knight. In making certain changes, Melville is not always fortunate in the retention of Spenser's meter, but in this particular alteration he was eminently successful.

3rd quotation, Sketch Second, *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxvi, ll. 1-3.

Melville: "Fear naught, then said the palmer, well avized,  
For these same monsters are not *there indeed*,  
But are into these fearfull shapes disguised."

Globe: "‘Fear nought,’ then saide the Palmer well aviz’d,  
 ‘For these same Monsters are not *these in deed*,  
 But are into these fearfull shapes disguiz’d’."

It has been suggested that "with hand-written MS. ‘these in deed’ might easily become ‘there indeed,’ and that ‘Tethys’—in the next quotation below—might become ‘Zethy’s’."

4th quotation, Sketch Second: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxvi, ll. 6, 8, 9.

Melville: "*And* lifting up his vertuous staffe on *high*,  
*Then* all that dreadfull armie fast gan flye  
 Into great *Zethy’s* bosom, where they hidden lye."

Globe: "*Tho* lifting up his vertuous staffe on *hye*,  
 He smote the sea, which calmed was with speed,  
*And* all that dreadfull Armie fast gan flye  
 Into great *Tethys* bosome, where they hidden lye."

Here Melville omits an entire line, and the omission is intentional. In Sketch Second Melville is describing the giant tortoises of the Galapagos Islands (The Enchanted Isles). He had undoubtedly seen these animals amble off into the sea at the approach of human beings. The other changes were, of course, simply the modernization of the spelling of the words in Spenser. *Zethy’s* occurs in the four other editions of *The Piazza Tales* which I examined.

1st quotation, Sketch Third: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza viii, ll. 1-6.  
 ll. 1, 2, 6:

Melville: "*For they* this hight *the Rock* of vile *Reproach*,  
*A dangerous* and *dreadful* place,  
 . . . . .  
 Which *still* sit waiting on that *dreadful* clift."

Globe: "*Forthy* this hight *The Rocke* of vile *Reproch*,  
*A daungerous* and *destestable* place,  
 . . . . .  
 Which still *sat* waiting on the *wastfull* clift."

Melville may have misunderstood the meaning of *Forthy*, although it is not necessary to assume that he did. It can be seen

why he changed *detestable* to *dreadful*, as the connotation of the former adjective would mar the artistic unity of the piece. The islands in Melville's eyes are anything but *detestable*!

2nd quotation, Sketch Third: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxxiii, ll. 1-4.

3rd quotation, Sketch Third: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxxiii, ll. 8-9.

Melville: "Then he the boteman bad row easily,  
And let him heare some part of *that* rare melody."

Globe: "That he the bote man bad row easily,  
And let him heare some part of *their* rare melody."

4th quotation, Sketch Third: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxxv, ll. 6-7.

5th quotation, Sketch Third: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxxvi, ll. 1-2.

Quotation for Sketch Fourth: *F. Q.*, the first line is from Bk. I, canto x, stanza liii, and the second line is from the same Book, stanza lv, line 1.

Melville: "That done, he leads him to the highest mount,  
From *whence*, far off he unto him did show."

Globe: "That done, he leads him to the highest Mount;  
. . . . .  
From *thence*, far off he unto him did *shew*."

This last quotation is perhaps one of the best examples of Melville's technique in the use of his source material. He has taken the first line of two different stanzas and combined them into an appropriate couplet for introducing this particular Sketch, which is a description of the view from Rock Rodondo.

Quotation for Sketch Fifth: Spenser's *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, Globe ed., page 538, verse ix, ll. 1-4.

1st quotation, Sketch Sixth: Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*, Globe ed., page 514, ll. 4-9.

Melville: "Let us all *servile* base subjection *scorn*,  
And as we *be sons* of the *earth* so wide,  
. . . . .  
Now hold *on* hugger-mugger in their hand."

Globe: "Let us all *serville* base subjection *scorne*;  
And as we *bee sonnes* of the *world* so wide,  
. . . . .  
Now hold *in* hugger mugger in their hand."

2nd quotation, Sketch Sixth: Same reference as first quotation of this Sketch, ll. 38-39.

3rd quotation, Sketch Sixth: Source unidentified.

1st quotation, Sketch Seventh: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto ix, stanza xiii, ll. 1-7.

Melville: ". . . So with outrageous cry,  
A thousand villeins round about *him* swarmed."  
. . . . .

Globe: "*Thus as he spoke, loel* with outrageous cry,  
A thousand villeins round about *them* swarmed."  
. . . . .

The title of Sketch Seventh is "Charles's Isle and the Dog-King." Part of the story in this Sketch is concerned with a revolt against the Dog-King, and the quotation from Spenser adequately describes the motley crew in their mutiny. (See Weaver's edition, pages 191-192.) In view of this, Melville's change of *them* to *him* is perfectly clear. He was obliged to omit *Thus as he spoke, loel*, for the situation was entirely different from what it is in Spenser.

2nd quotation, Sketch Seventh: Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*, p. 514, ll. 25-28, Globe ed.

1st quotation, Sketch Eighth: *F. Q.*, Bk. II, canto xii, stanza xxvii, ll. 5-9.

Melville, 1. 2: "A seemly *woman* sitting by the shore."

Globe: "A seemly *Maiden* sitting by the shore."

Here again Melville has changed one word in his source passage in order to adapt this introductory quotation to the situation described in the prose, for, as may be seen by reading Sketch Eighth, the woman who was rescued by the crew of Melville's boat is a widow whose husband had died on the island some days before she was rescued. The word *maiden*, therefore, had to be replaced.

2nd quotation, Sketch Eighth: Chatterton,<sup>18</sup> the *Mynstrelles Songe from Ælla*, stanza ii.

Melville: "*Black his eyes* as the *midnight sky*,  
*White his neck* as the *driven snow*,  
*Red his cheek* as the *morning light*;  
*Cold he lies* in the ground below.  
*My love is dead*

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 89.



*Gone to his death-bed  
All under the cactus tree."*

Chatterton: "*Blacke hys cryne as the wyntere nyghte,  
Whyte hys rode as the sommer snow,  
Rodde hys face as the mornynge lyghte,  
Cale he lyes ynne the grave below;  
Mie love ys dedde,  
Gon to hys deathe-bedde,  
Al under the wyllowe tree."*

In the 1856 edition of *The Piazza Tales*, the sixth line reads:  
Gone to his death-bed, ys.

Of course, many of the changes in this last quotation are simply modernizations of Chatterton's spelling. The individual reader must judge for himself whether or not Melville secured any artistic advantage in changing *wyntere nyghte* to *midnight sky*, or in altering *sommer snow* to *driven snow*. However, there can be no doubt that there was at least a technical advantage in supplanting the word *wyllowe* by the word *cactus*, for, as is well known, cactus trees are to be found in abundance on the Galapagos Islands.<sup>14</sup> In my reading of the various journals of sea-voyagers who touched these islands and in the accounts of several scientific expeditions made to them, I was unable to find any record of the presence of willow trees on the islands.

3rd quotation, Sketch Eight: Williams Collins,<sup>15</sup> *Dirge in Cymbeline*, stanza vi. As previously pointed out, this quotation is to be found in the 1856 edition and in the Constable edition (1923) of the "Sketches." It does not appear in Weaver's edition or in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*. Melville used it without alteration:

Each lonely scene shall thee restore;  
For thee the tear be duly shed;  
Belov'd till life can charm no more,  
And mourn'd till Pity's self be dead.

Quotation for Sketch Ninth: *F. Q.*, Bk. I, canto ix, stanza xxxv, and the first three lines of stanza xxxvi.

<sup>14</sup> See the various photographs in *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences*, I (1907), 266-282.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

Quotation for Sketch Tenth: *F. Q.*, Bk. I, canton ix, stanza xxxiv, ll. 1-4.  
Quotation at the end of Sketch Tenth.

The suggestion for using this quotation evidently came from Porter's *Journal*.<sup>16</sup> Since Melville used both the poetry and some of the prose from this same reference, the passages are given in full here, rather than defer the prose to the second part of this article where Melville's use of the prose sources is discussed.

Melville, page 225, Weaver's edition:

It is known that burial in the ocean is a pure necessity of sea-faring life, and that it is only done when land is far astern, and not clearly visible from the bow. Hence, to vessels cruising in the vicinity of the Enchanted Isles, they afford a *Convenient Potter's Field*.<sup>\*</sup> The interment over, some good-natured fore-castle poet and artist seizes his paintbrush, and inscribes a doggerel epitaph. When after a long lapse of time, other good-natured seamen chance to come upon the spot, *they usually make a table of the mound, and quaff a friendly can to the poor soul's repose.*

As a specimen of these epitaphs take the following, found in a bleak gorge of Chatham Isle:

*Oh Brother Jack, as you pass by,  
As you are now, so once was I.  
Just so game and just so gay,  
But now, alack, they've stopped my pay.  
No more I peep out of my blinkers,  
Here I bee—tucked in with clinkers!*

Porter:

We here found the tomb of a seaman who had been buried five years before, from a ship called the Georgiana, commanded by Captain Pitts. Over it was erected a white board, bearing an inscription neatly executed, showing his age, &c., and terminating with the following epitaph, which I insert more on account of the extreme simplicity of the verse, and its powerful and flattering appeal to the feelings, than for its elegance, or for the correctness of the composition:

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 163-164.

<sup>\*</sup> The italics are my own in all cases, with the exception of those instances marked (\*\*). I have two reasons for using italics: first, I wish to call attention to identical or nearly identical passages in Melville's material and in his sources; second, I desire to point out additions to or alterations of the source material which our author seems to have made in shaping it towards his artistic purpose. These remarks apply also to the prose passages under section III below.

Gentle reader, as you pass by,  
As you are now, so wonce was I;  
As now my body is in the dust,  
I hope in heaven my soul to rest.

The spot where his remains were deposited was shaded by two lofty thorn-bushes, which afforded an agreeable shade and fragrance, and became the favorite resort of our men at their meals. *The pile of stones (which had been piously placed over the grave by his shipmates) served them both for table and seat, whereby they indulged themselves amply in their favourite food, and quaffed many a can of grog to his poor soul's rest!*

The appropriateness of the alterations made here, especially in the prose, can best be appreciated by reading Sketch Tenth in its entirety. The sub-title of it is:

Runaways, Castaways, Solitaires, Grave-stones, etc.

The designation of the Isles as "a convenient Potter's Field," is in keeping with the rest of the Sketch.

Before considering the prose sources, it should be pointed out that much of the artistic finish of these "Sketches" is perhaps due to the fact that several of the quotations strike "the mood" of the account or description in the prose which follows them. This is especially true of the passages which preface Sketch Eighth,<sup>17</sup> one of the finest of all the "Sketches." The first quotation of this Sketch not only gives "the mood," but also contains a specific reference to a woman in distress. But Melville was not content with this single passage of poetry, so he added two more, a rather masterful stroke in this instance, as both refer to the death of Hunilla's husband and his burial on the lonely isle.

### III

The second problem in the study of the composition of these "Sketches" centers around Melville's dependence upon certain printed authorities and maps, and the importance of the alterations and adaptations which he made in incorporating these sources in his "Sketches."

Of the three "eye-witness authorities" (see note 5 above), Mel-

<sup>17</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

ville was much indebted to Porter, for there are at least a dozen different passages in the latter's *Journal* which Melville either used with slight change or with some expansion. His use of Colnett's account<sup>18</sup> was limited to two passages and the map, while Cowley's book,<sup>19</sup> with the exception of a single quotation on page 182 (Weaver), was not drawn upon for any source material. The map which accompanies Cowley's edition is a very poor one, and could not have been of much assistance to Melville.

Limitations of space prohibit the printing of all the passages of the journals which Melville utilized. In almost every instance, however, Melville's technique as an artist can be seen at work, as he takes his source material and recasts it to conform to his dominant purpose of surrounding these Isles with a peculiar atmosphere, consisting of a mixture of enchantment, desolation, and inhospitality. In the first few pages of *Sketch First*, Melville, in giving us "the pitch" or "the dominant mood" of *The Encantadas*, makes specific mention of these three aspects of the Isles:

It is to be doubted whether any spot of earth can, in desolateness, furnish a parallel to this group. Abandoned cemeteries of long ago, old cities by piecemeal tumbling to their ruin, these are melancholy enough; but, like all else which has but once been associated with humanity they still awaken in us some thoughts of sympathy, however sad.<sup>20</sup>

But the special curse, as one may call it, of the Encantadas, that which exalts them in desolation above Idumea and the Pole, is that to them change never comes; neither the change of seasons nor of sorrows.<sup>20</sup>

Another feature in these isles is their emphatic uninhabitableness.<sup>20</sup> [This statement is more or less a generalization, as Melville modifies it somewhat in one or two of the later "Sketches."]

And this apparent fleetingness and unreality of the locality of the isles was most probably one reason for the Spaniards calling them the Encantada, or Enchanted Group.<sup>21</sup>

It is only when they are viewed with Melville's artistic purpose in mind that the adaptations become doubly important, and with this

<sup>18</sup> *A Voyage to the South Atlantic and Round Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean*, etc. (London: W. Bennett, 1798). Courtesy of the Congressional Library.

<sup>19</sup> "A Collection of Original Voyages," etc. "Published by Capt. William Hacke. London, 1699." See p. 10 for Melville's quotation. Courtesy of the William L. Clements Library.

<sup>20</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 160, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

suggestion of approach to the reader, the following passages are presented as the most significant parallels which I found:

Melville:<sup>22</sup> "Ere quitting Rodondo, it must not be omitted that here, in 1813, the U. S. frigate *Essex*, (\*\*) Captain David Porter, came near leaving her bones. *Lying becalmed* one morning *with a strong current setting her rapidly towards the rock, a strange sail was descried*, which—not out of keeping with alleged enchantments of the neighborhood—seemed to be staggering under a violent wind, while the frigate lay lifeless as if spell-bound. But a light air springing up, all sail was made by the frigate in chase of the enemy, as supposed—he being deemed an English whale-ship—but the rapidity of the current was so great that soon all sight was lost of him; and at meridian the *Essex*, (\*\*) spite of her drags, was driven so close under the foam-lashed cliffs of Rodondo that for a time all hands gave her up. A smart breeze, however, at last helped her off, though the escape was so critical as to seem almost miraculous. . . . Renewing the chase in the direction in which the stranger had disappeared, sight was caught of him the following morning. Upon being descried he hoisted American colours and stood away from the *Essex*. (\*\*) . . . Cutters were subsequently sent to capture him; the stranger now showing English colours in place of

Porter:<sup>23</sup> "At seven o'clock on the morning of the 28th, *discovered a strange sail* to the eastward, and, on viewing her with my spy-glass from the top-gallant-yard, she appeared to be close on a wind under her topsails, with fresh breezes, while our ships were lying nearly becalmed, *with strong current setting us with rapidity for Rodondo*, which bore W. by S. A light air, however, springing up from the westward, we made all sail in chase; but the rapidity of the current was so great, that we soon lost sight of the stranger and at meridian we were driven so close to Rodondo, that we entertained the most lively apprehensions for the safety of the ship. With the assistance of our drags, which were plied with their utmost power, and a smart breeze, which fortunately sprang up at the most critical moment, it was with some considerable difficulty we escaped getting on shore on it. . . . I firmly believed that the stranger was a British whale-ship. . . . The next morning at half past seven o'clock, she was discovered.

. . . and as she had discovered that we were a frigate, and no doubt had intelligence of our being in this quarter, she hoisted American colours and made all sail from us. . . . having hauled down his Amer-

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 208-210.

American. But when the frigate's boats were within a short distance of their hoped-for prize, *another breeze sprang up; the stranger under all sail bore off to the westward, and ere night was hull down ahead of the Essex, (\*\*) which all this time lay perfectly becalmed.*

*This enigmatic craft—American in the morning, and English in the evening—her sails full of wind in a calm—was never again beheld.<sup>24</sup> An enchanted ship no doubt. So at least the sailors swore."*

*ican colours, and hoisted English.*

The boats had not got *within three quarters of a mile of him, when a fresh breeze sprung up from the eastward, with which he made all sail to the northward, hoisted colours, fired at our gig and whale-boat as he passed . . . and before sunset he was hull down ahead of us, while we were lying the whole time perfectly becalmed."*

In the light of footnote 24, the last paragraph cited above from Melville is significant. Porter says nothing about an *enchanted* ship, but Melville seizes the opportunity to create an atmosphere of enchantment about these islands. I suspect very much that Melville read the passage in Porter which told how this ship was captured, and I believe he deliberately ignored it in order to produce this effect of enchantment.

Melville:<sup>25</sup> *"If now it be added that gravestones, or rather grave-boards, are also discovered upon some of the isles, the picture will be complete.*

*Upon the beach of James's Isle for many years was to be seen a rude finger-post pointing inland. And perhaps taking it for some signal of possible hospitality in this otherwise desolate spot—some good hermit living there with his maple*

Porter:<sup>26</sup> *"I have now the painful task of mentioning an occurrence which gave me the utmost pain, as it was attended by the premature death of a promising young officer, whereby the service at this time has received an irreparable injury, and by a practice which disgraces human nature. I shall, however, throw a veil over the whole proceedings, and merely state, that without my knowledge*

<sup>24</sup> The following excerpt taken from p. 235 of Porter's *Journals* shows that this ship was captured later by Capt. Porter: "At one o'clock we were at the distance of four miles from the chase. . . . She proved to be the British letter of marque ship, Sir Andrew Hammon. . . . But the most agreeable circumstance of the whole was, that this was the same ship we formerly chased; and the captain assured me, that our ship had been so strangely altered, that he supposed her to be a whale-ship."

<sup>25</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 221-222.

*dish—the stranger would follow on in the path thus indicated, till at last he would come out in a noiseless nook, and find his only welcome, a dead man; his sole greeting the inscription over a grave: 'Here, in 1813, fell in a daybreak duel, a Lieutenant of the U. S. frigate Essex, aged twenty-one; attaining his majority in death.'*" Melville:<sup>27</sup> "Those parts of the strand free from the marks of fire stretch away in wide level beaches of multitudinous dead shells, with here and there decayed bits of sugar-cane, bamboos, and cocoanuts, washed upon this other and darker world from the charming isles to the westward and southward, all the way from Paradise to Tartarus; while mixed with the relics of distant beauty you will sometimes see fragments of charred wood and mouldering ribs of wrecks."

the parties met on the shore at daylight, and at the third fire Mr. Cowan fell dead. His remains were buried the same day in the spot where he fell, and the following inscription was placed over his tomb:

*Sacred to the memory  
OF LIEUT. JOHN S. COWAN  
Of the U. S. Frigate Essex  
Who died here anno 1813,  
Aged 21 years.*

His loss is ever to be regretted

By his country;  
And mourned by his friends  
And brother officers.

... Prior to my leaving the place, I buried a letter for lieutenant Downes, in a bottle at the head of Mr. Cowan's grave, and a duplicate of the same at the foot of a finger-post, erected by me, for the purpose of pointing out to such as may hereafter visit the island the grave of Mr. Cowan."

Colnett:<sup>28</sup> "The rocks are covered with crabs, and there are also a few small wilks and winkles. A large quantity of dead shells, of various kinds, were washed upon the beach; all of which were familiar to me; among the rest, were the shells of large cray-fish, but we never caught any of them alive. On several parts of the shore, there was driftwood, of a larger size, than any of the trees, that grow on the island: also bamboos and wild sugar canes, with a few small cocoanuts at full growth, though not

<sup>27</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

larger than a pigeon's egg. We observed also some *burnt wood*, but that might have *drifted from the continent*, been thrown overboard from a ship, or fired by lightening on the spot."

The next parallel passage is the most extensive expansion which Melville made of any source which I found. The full text may be read on pages 186-188 of Weaver's edition of Melville, but the excerpts given below will show very clearly to what extent Melville expanded the passage in Colnett's account. Porter also cites this passage from Colnett in a footnote on page 217 of his *Journal*.<sup>29</sup>

Melville:<sup>30</sup> "Barrington Isle *is in many respects singularly adapted to careening, refitting, refreshing*, and other seamen's purposes. Not only has it good water, and *good anchorage, well sheltered from all winds by the high land of Albe-marle*, but it is the least unproductive isle of the group. Tortoises good for food, trees good for fuel, and *long grass* good for bedding, abound here, and there are pretty natural walks, and *several landscapes* to be seen.

. . .

'I once landed on its western side,' says a sentimental voyager long ago, . . . 'I walked *beneath groves of trees*; . . . And here, in calm spaces at the heads of glades, and on the shaded tops of slopes commanding the most quiet scenery—what do you think I saw?

Colnett:<sup>31</sup> "At every place where we landed *on the western side*, we might have walked for miles through *long grass, and beneath groves of trees*. *It only wanted a stream to compose a very charming landscape*. This isle appears to have been a *favourite resort of the buccaneers, as we not only found seats, which had been made by them of earth and stone, but a considerable number of broken jars scattered about*, and some entirely whole, in which *the Peruvian wine and liquors of that country* are preserved. We also found some *old daggers, nails*, and other implements.

This place *is, in every respect, calculated for the refreshment or relief for crews*, after a long and tedious voyage, *as it abounds with wood, and good anchorage* for any

<sup>29</sup> Melville may have used the passage as it is quoted in Porter. However, in addition to the evidence given in my article, there is other evidence that Melville had Colnett's account since he quotes from it in the Extracts in the preface to *Moby Dick*. See p. xxiv, *Moby Dick or the Whale* (New York: Random House, 1930).

<sup>30</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-188, *passim*.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 156.



*Seats which might have served number of ships, and sheltered Brahmins and presidents of peace from all winds by Albemarle Isle. societies. Fine old ruins of what The watering places of the buccaneers were entirely dried up, and had once been symmetric lounges there was only found a small rivulet between two hills, running into the sea."*

*One had been a long sofa, with back and arms, just such a sofa as the poet Gray might have loved to throw himself upon, his Crebillon in hand.*

...

'But I found old cutlasses and daggers reduced to mere threads of rust, . . . Mixed with shells, fragments of broken jars were lying here and there, high upon the beach. They were precisely like the jars now used upon the Spanish coast for the wine and Pisco spirits of that country. . . .'

Evidently this Isle was not so barren and desolate as the others, excepting Charles's Isle. Melville sensed this also, for on page 186 (Weaver) he states:

Indeed, though in its locality belonging to the Enchanted group, Barrington Isle is so unlike most of its neighbors that it would hardly seem of kin to them.

On page 216 of his *Journal*, Porter makes the following comment with reference to Colnett's description of this same Isle:

But we neither found his delightful groves, his rivulets of water, nor his seats formed by the buccaneers of earth and stone, where we might repose ourselves after our fruitless search for them.

Melville must have seen this passage in Porter, but perhaps the temptation was too great to resist, so he gave way to a reminiscent mood.

I have two reasons for attributing the expansion to Melville. In the first place, my examination of some twenty-five or thirty journals

and accounts of sea-voyagers failed to reveal any passage of prose, other than the one in Colnett and Porter's quotation from Colnett, which could have formed a possible basis for Melville's remarks. That is, no other passage was found which in any way remotely paralleled Melville's account to the extent that the passage from Colnett does. The various specific word and phrase correspondences in both Melville's and Colnett's versions seem further to corroborate my point of view. In the second place, the style in which the expansion is written is that of Melville; and, last, but not least, the reference to the poet Gray with "his Crebillon in hand," gives the whole thing away. He would indeed be a rare navigator, whaler, or buccaneer, who would have this information at his finger tips!

Melville:<sup>32</sup> "Massafuero is a Spanish name, expressive of the fact, that the isle so called lies *more without* (\*\*), that is, *further off the main* than its neighbour Juan.

...

Prior to the year 1563, *the voyages made by Spanish ships from Peru to Chili, were full of difficulty. Along this coast the winds from the South most generally prevail; and it had been an invariable custom to keep close in with the land, from a superstitious conceit on the part of the Spaniards, that were they to lose sight of it, the eternal trade wind would waft them into unending waters, from whence would be no return.*

...

*It was the famous pilot, Juan Fernandes, immortalized by the island named after him, who put an end to these coasting tribulations, by boldly venturing the ex-*

Burney:<sup>33</sup> "An improvement which was made at this time, in the mode of navigating between the ports of South America in the Pacific Ocean, brought into notice some islands situated a short distance to the West of the continent, and gave great encouragement to the undertaking of enterprises by sea, as it removed an apprehension which had been a great restraint on mariners in that part of the world. *Along the coast of Peru, and part of the coast of Chile, the winds from the South are those which generally prevail; and it had been a custom invariably adhered to by vessels bound from one port to another, to keep close to the land, from an idea that if they were to lose sight of the coast, the trade wind would render their return impracticable. The passage from Peru to the ports of Chile was consequently tedious and difficult. A*

<sup>32</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-178.

<sup>33</sup> "A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea," etc. By James Burney. London: 1803. G. & W. Nicol. Part I, pp. 273-274.

periment—as De Gama did before him with respect to Europe—of standing broad out from land. Here he found the winds favourable for getting to the south, and by running westward till beyond the influence of the trades, he regained the coast without difficulty; making the passage which, though in a high degree circuitous, proved far more expeditious than the nominally direct one. Now it was upon these new tracks, and about the year 1670 or thereabouts, that the Enchanted Isles and the rest of the sentinel groups, as they may be called, were discovered.”

Spanish pilot, named Juan Fernandez, was the first who ventured to make the experiment of standing to a distance from the land, where he found the winds favourable for getting to the South, and by running in that direction, till he was beyond the influence of the trade wind, he regained the coast without difficulty, making the passage much more expeditiously than it could have been performed by the in-shore navigation. In these new and circuitous tracks, several islands were found not far to the west of the American continent. The order in which they became known is not stated here with certainty. The earliest date concerning them that has been met with in the present investigation is given to the two islands named, one of them after its discoverer, Juan Fernandez, and the other, being more distant from the continent, *Mas-a-fuera* (more without).”

Notice again in this last passage the peculiar twist which Melville has given to his adaptation. I refer especially to the following phrases:

from a *superstitious* conceit

the *eternal* trade wind would waft them into *unending* waters,  
from whence would be *no return*.

In concluding the illustrations of the prose parallels, I wish to cite the following passage, with two extracts from Porter, as an example of several other short ones<sup>34</sup> which are also more or less paralleled in Porter's *Journal*:

<sup>34</sup> For those who may desire to consult them, I give the following references to these other parallels:

Melville<sup>35</sup> (describing Rock Rondondo): "Four leagues away, on a golden, hazy noon, it seems some Spanish Admiral's ship, stacked up with glittering canvas. *Sail ho! Sail ho! Sail ho! from all three masts.* But coming nigh, *the enchanted frigate is transfewred apace into a craggy keep.*"

Porter<sup>36</sup> (Bainbridge's Rocks): "Towards sunset, the man on the lookout cried out, *a sail to the northwest!* (\*\*) All sail was made in chase, but in a short time we discovered from the masthead, by our glasses, that *it was one of two rocks* that lie off the north end of Porter's Island, which we have called Bainbridge's Rocks."

Porter:<sup>37</sup> "At length the cry of *sail ho!* (\*\*) and shortly afterwards another seemed to electrify every man on board, and it seemed now as if all our hopes and expectations were to be realized. But in a few minutes these illusory prospects vanished, and as sudden dejection, proceeding from disappointment, took place; for *the supposed sails proved to be only white appearances on the shore.*"

I am not going to insist that these shorter excerpts are good parallels. However, there is probably enough in them to arouse suspicion, in view of the more significant passages which have been cited.

One other source which Melville utilized remains to be discussed. At the end of this article there are three maps. The first one is from the 1822 edition of Porter's *Journals*. According to reports forwarded to me from the Congressional Library and from the Prince-

Melville, first and third paragraphs, p. 223. Cf. Porter, p. 142, sentence beginning, "This I afterwards, etc," and ending, "along side an American ship early in the morning. . . ."

Melville, p. 163, beginning, "And this apparent," etc., and ending, "invests the isles." Cf. Porter, p. 177, beginning, "The winds now," etc., and ending, "in getting from them."

Melville, second paragraph, p. 224, beginning, "And though it may seem," etc., to the end of paragraph. Cf. Porter, p. 143, beginning, "We were in hopes," etc., to end of sentence. Also Porter, p. 128, beginning with, "He returned in about," etc., and ending with the list of ships.

Melville, second paragraph, p. 174, beginning, "No sooner did the hook," etc., and cf. Porter, p. 145, "The moment the hook," etc.

<sup>35</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

ton University Library, there is no map in their copies of the 1815 edition of Porter. The 1823 edition of Porter also lacks a map. In fact, this edition is much abridged and is of little value for our problem. The second map is from Colnett's account, and has his name on it. The third map is the U. S. Navy Chart No. 1798, and is the most detailed and authoritative map of the Galapagos Islands which I could find. It accompanies the article for purposes of comparison, as will soon be evident from my discussion.

I have already proved from the various sources mentioned above that Melville used the journals of Porter and Colnett. It should be noted that the date which Melville places after Colnett's name (see note 6 above) corresponds to the date of the edition which I used. It is therefore not out of the realm of possibility to imagine that Melville saw the map in Colnett and also that he saw the one in Porter. The importance of these two maps to the general problem of Melville's sources may be seen by referring to the diagram and description of two of the islands on page 179 of Weaver's edition, and by comparing this diagram and description with Porter's and Colnett's maps. If there is one thing which stands out on these two maps, it is the E-shape of Albemarle and Narborough Islands as Melville has described them. A glance at the third map will show the contrast. This third map illustrates the relationship of these two islands as it is designated on all the other maps which I examined. Cowley's map is entirely useless here. In the course of my investigation I found twelve different maps of these islands, and without exception all of them showed the same relationship and outline of the two islands as is given on the Navy Chart. When the attention is centered upon this E-shape of Albemarle and Narborough, it is possible to see a meager correspondence to the letter E on the Navy Chart. On the other hand, no stretch of the imagination is required to recognize the E-shape on either Porter's or Colnett's map.

Our problem is complicated, however, by two facts. On page 182 (Weaver) Melville lists the names of several isles to the south of James's Isle, among them being Jervis Isle, Duncan Isle, Crossman's Isle, Brattle Isle, Wood's Isle, Chatham Isle, "and various lesser isles." Diligent examination of several modern and eighteenth and

nineteenth atlases, including British Admiralty Chart No. 1375,<sup>38</sup> failed to show any record of Wood's Isle. An inquiry sent to the American Geographical Society, New York, brought the following reply:

A thorough search among our files has failed to reveal any map of the Galapagos Islands giving the names as mentioned by Herman Melville, although the maps consulted range from the earliest available up to the present.

A reply to a similar letter of inquiry which I sent to the California Academy of Sciences contained the following information:

In *Zoologica*, Volume 4, Number 3, page 91 and pages 104 to 135, you will find that the names Woods and Hoods are frequently used for Hood Island.

I quote the following from the reference immediately above. The two passages are extracts from *A Narrative of the Life, Travels and Sufferings of Thomas W. Smith*, written by himself, and published in Boston in 1844:

After this we proceeded to Woods' (Hoods) Island, and came to anchor in a suitable harbor.

Ship *Loper* of Nantucket, John Cotton, master. Woods (Hoods) Island 237 tortoises.

Of course, it is still possible that Melville may have used another map, as he mentions Hood's (page 182, Weaver) in addition to Wood's. The facts which have been presented, however, in this article, seem to suggest that Melville was in error. Note also that Jervis Isle, Duncan Isle, Brattle Isle, and Crossman's Isle are on Colnett's map and not on Porter's. Cowley's map has Brattles Isle, Crossmans Isle, and Deans Isle, among the others, but does not mention Jervis Isle or Duncan Isle. It seems, therefore, that the possibility of Melville's having used another map is reduced to a minimum.

The second fact which complicates our problem is that no map was found which had the same designation which Melville assigns to the two bays which lie to the north and south respectively of Narborough Island. On page 179 of Weaver's edition, Melville says:

<sup>38</sup> See Osbert Salvin's "Avifauna of the Galapagos Archipelago," *Transactions of the Zoological Society*, IX (London, 1877), Plate LXXXIV.

Albemarle opens his mouth towards the setting sun. His distended jaws form a great bay, which Narborough, his tongue, divides into halves, one whereof is called *Weather Bay*, the other *Lee Bay*;

All the maps examined list these two bays as *Banks Bay* and *Elizabeth Bay*. I also made inquiry about this matter in my letters to the American Geographical Society, New York, and the California Academy of Sciences, from whose letters I have given partial quotations above. With respect to the names of these two bays, note the following paragraph from the letter from the California Academy:

I have referred your letter to our Mr. Joseph R. Slevin who is very familiar with the Galapagos Islands and he says he has never heard of "Lee" or "Weather Bay."

One possible explanation is that the words "Lee" and "Weather" were nautical terms applied by the sailors, and Melville may have known the bays as such.

To sum up the discussion of the maps, I feel safe in assuming that Melville used both Porter's and Colnett's maps, and supplemented this knowledge with other information which a sailor who had been to these islands (Melville states in *Typee* that he was there; see also the note at end of Sketch Ninth) would have.

This study has not exhausted all the possible sources of these "Sketches." It is quite conceivable that there exists in some navigator's journal or in some historical or pseudo-historical record the account of the incidents of "Charles's Isle and the Dog-King," as told in Sketch Seventh.<sup>39</sup> The same situation may be true with respect to the story in Sketch Eighth. Be that as it may, if these sources are discovered, it would not seem rash to say that Melville will probably be found using them with the same intent and purpose which governed his treatment of the sources already pointed out in this article.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Miss Ruth Rose<sup>40</sup> concludes her account of these islands by stating:

<sup>39</sup> Part of my reason for this assumption is based upon Melville's error (see page 189, Weaver) in stating that the islands were "the nominal appanage of Peru" at the time he wrote. Peru never owned them. They came into the possession of Ecuador about 1835-1836.

<sup>40</sup> William Beebe, *Galapagos World's End* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924), XVI, 344.

No better description of these arid lands has ever been written than the opening paragraphs of "The Encantadas."

While I have apparently unearthed much material on the sources for these "Sketches," it should be said, in justice to Melville, that he has touched most of them with a magic wand. For such artistry, one can condone somewhat his failure to indicate all of his sources. At least, there is some satisfaction in knowing that he was not the first to be negligent in this respect, and probably he will not be the last. To me the most significant thing about my study has been the privilege I have had of watching Melville in his workshop, and I pass this privilege on to any who may wish to share it with me. My final word is that the critics still remain justified in their praise of these "Sketches."



## LOWELL'S CRITICISM OF MILTON\*

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JAMES Russell Lowell's position as a critic has been much disputed in recent years. I have felt that an analysis of his criticism of Milton must be of definite assistance in any final estimate of his critical rank. Such a study also partially explains the nature of Milton's American reputation. Lowell's treatment of the English poet is to be found chiefly in two essays: his review of Masson's biography<sup>1</sup> and his preface to the Grolier edition of *Arcopagitica*.<sup>2</sup> Chiefly, I say, for more or less fragmentary observations on Milton are found throughout his works.

### I

The Grolier preface is naturally concerned largely with Milton's prose. When Lowell writes, "It cannot be said that the prose works of Milton have ever been in any sense popular, or read by any public much more numerous than the proof-reader,"<sup>3</sup> he speaks rather hastily; evidently he is judging by the attitude of his own age toward them. This lack of popularity Lowell attributes to Milton's being "rich in learning, but too intent on the constant display of it with the cumbrous prodigality of one to whom such wealth is new."<sup>4</sup> Again, Lowell is perhaps lacking in penetrative sympathy. The "display" of learning to which he objects in the prose works, is much more probably due to Milton's need for proving his right to speak with authority than to any vain desire to spread the peacock plumage of his knowledge. If Lowell had applied this criticism to Milton's poetry rather than to his prose, it would at least have been more difficult to oppose his judgment.

Conventionally enough, Lowell repeatedly eulogizes, throughout his own writings, the "sublimity" of Milton's "faultless" artistry. But his praise is not always thus hyperbolic:

\* This essay is part of a study, *Milton in the Work of Emerson, Lowell, and Holmes*, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in English at Duke University.

<sup>1</sup> *Works* (Riverside edition, Boston and New York, 1892), IV, 58-117.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 94-110.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 104.

His sentences are often loutish and difficult, in controversy he is brutal, and at any the most inopportune moment capable of an incredible coarseness. Let a single instance from his *Reformation in England* suffice, where he speaks of "that queasy temper of luke-warmness that gives a vomit to God himself." Jeremy Taylor is often coarse, but never to the degree of disgust. Strangely enough, too, Milton is careless of euphony, seeming to prefer words not only low but harsh, and such cacophonous superlatives as "virtuosest," "viciousest," "sheepishest," even making the last two hiss in the same sentence. Perhaps he is at his worst when he fancies that he is being playful and humorous (dangerous tight-ropes for an insupportable foot like his), and, as he says in his *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*, "mixes here and there a grim laughter such as may appear at the same time in an austere visage." Grim laughter it is indeed.

Too often also he blusters, and we are forced to condone in him, as he in Luther, "how far he gave way to his own fervent mind." It does not satisfy us to excuse these faults as common to the time, for Milton himself has taught us to expect of him that choice of language, and that faultless marshalling of it which is of all time, and sometimes even in his prose there are periods which have all the splendor, all the dignity, and all the grave exhilaration of his verse.<sup>5</sup>

Lowell also laments the lack in Milton's prose of "that equable distinction which is the constant note of his verse. A sentence builded majestically with every help of art and imagination too often thrusts heavenward from a huddle of vulgar prentices such as used to cluster about mediaeval cathedrals. Never was such inequality."<sup>6</sup>

In the essay on *Milton*, he characterizes the prose writings as rather persuasive than logical:

The *Areopagitica*—is a plea rather than an argument, and his interest in the question is not one of abstract principle, but of personal relation to himself. He was far more rhetorician than thinker. The sonorous amplitude of his style was better fitted to persuade the feelings than to convince the reason. The only passages from his prose that may be said to have survived are emotional, not argumentative, or they have lived in virtue of their figurative beauty, not their weight of thought.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 105.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 84.

## II

Toward the poetry of Milton, Lowell's critical dicta are as a whole much more favorable.

Of most importance is his treatment of *Paradise Lost*. As Lowell recognizes, one of the chief characteristics of Milton's style is his tendency toward dilation, his love of vast indefiniteness. In his attitude toward this aspect of Milton's style, Lowell is not quite consistent. He explains, in his essay on Dante, the difference between Dante's and Milton's portraiture of Satan. He is defending Dante's devil against Coleridge's charge of inferiority. He says:

We will only add a word on what seems to us an extraordinary misapprehension of Coleridge, who disparages Dante by comparing his Lucifer with Milton's Satan. He seems to have forgotten that the precise measurements of Dante were not prosaic, but absolutely demanded by the nature of his poem. He is describing an actual journey, and his exactness makes a part of the verisimilitude. We read the *Paradise Regained* as a poem, the *Commedia* as a record of fact; and no one can read Dante without believing his story, for it is plain that he believed it himself.<sup>8</sup>

In other words, Lowell believes Milton's version of theology as represented in *Paradise Lost* to be clearly moulded and affected by poetic exactions, whereas Dante has subordinated his poetry to his theology, refusing the enticements of poetic coloring. Lowell continues:

It is false esthetics to confound the grandiose with the imaginative. Milton's angels are not to be compared with Dante's, at once real and supernatural; and the Deity of Milton is a Calvinistic Zeus, while nothing in all poetry approaches the imaginative grandeur of Dante's vision of God at the conclusion of the *Paradise*.

Thus Lowell when he is writing of Dante; but let him write of Milton and immediately his deprecatory attitude is metamorphosed into one of rhetorical admiration, and the "grandiose" has become also the genuinely "imaginative," and he admits that "the moment you furnish Imagination with a yardstick she abdicates in favor of her statistical poor-relation Commonplace."<sup>9</sup> Lowell was never more eloquent than in his creative description of Milton's imagina-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 162.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 101.

tive grandeur.<sup>10</sup> In reading such passages, however, one can but feel that Lowell is at least as much interested in utilizing a good opportunity to display his own rhetorical capacities, as he is in interpreting Milton. He may heighten our appreciation of Milton, may enkindle our enthusiasm for his verse; but he scarcely, in such a manner, increases our critical understanding of the poet. Too much of Lowell's criticism is of this insubstantial nature.

Having written much and repeatedly of Milton's "grand" style, Lowell is also subtly alert to an antithetical stylistic trait. In "Shakespeare Once More"<sup>11</sup> he writes: "Milton's parsimony (so rare in him) makes the success of his

Sky lowered, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops  
Wept at completion of the mortal sin.

—P. L. IX, 1002."

I know of no adequate discussion of the rime to be found in Milton's blank verse. Lowell attempts, with partial success, to treat this rime in his essay on Milton (pp. 97 ff.):

He sometimes introduces rime with misleading intervals between and unobviously in his blank-verse:

There rest, if any rest can harbor *there*;  
And, re-assembling our afflicted powers,  
Consult how we may henceforth most offend  
Our enemy, our own loss how *repair*,  
How overcome this dire calamity,  
What reinforcement we may gain from hope,  
If not what resolution from *despair*.

—P. L. I, 185

There is one almost perfect quatrain:

Before thy fellows, ambitious to win  
From me some plume, that thy success may show  
Destruction to the rest. This pause between  
(Unanswered lest thou boast) to let thee know.

—P. L. VI, 160

<sup>10</sup> See, especially, a passage in the essay on *Milton*, *Works*, IV, 99 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Works*, III, 42.

And another hardly less so, of a rime and an assonance:

If once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge  
Of hope in fears and dangers—heard so oft  
In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge  
Of battle, when it raged, in all assaults

—P. L. I, 274

There can be little doubt that the rimes in the first passage cited were intentional, and perhaps they were so in the others; but Milton's ear has tolerated not a few perfectly riming couplets, and others in which the assonance almost becomes rime, certainly a fault in blank verse, (as:)

From the Asian Kings (and Parthian among these),  
From India and the Golden Chersonese.

—P. R. IV, 73

I fear that in the lines just quoted Lowell does not know or has forgotten that in Milton's original spelling, the word *Chersonese* appears as *Chersoness*, which does not argue very well for the supposed rime. Again, he cites:

That soon refreshed him wearied, and repaired  
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impaired.

—P. R. IV, 591

Although the rime here seems unmistakable, Lowell has failed to note, or at any rate to mention, the other instance of repetition or echo in the same lines, in the word *hunger*; not a rime, to be sure, but suggesting that the rime *repaired*—*impaired* is not accidental, but a part of a general design of repetition in the couplet. The same general repetitive purpose may be noted in several of the other passages Lowell quotes as instances of rime. Note:

And will alike be punished, whether thou  
Reign or reign not—though to that gentle brow

—P. R. III, 214

Here not only do *thou* and *brow* rime, but the word *reign* is repeated. Note again, and this time especially:

Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,  
Save what is in destroying; other joy

—P. L. IX, 477

*Pleasure* is repeated; so is the root of *destroy*; true, too, we have the rime *destroy—joy*. But the rime is this time still more clearly only part of a repetitive design, and does not, certainly, occur by accident.

Shall all be Paradise, far happier place  
Than this of Eden, and far happier days.

—P. L. XII, 464

Again we have not only the faulty rime (if it is one) *place—daies* (Milton's spelling), but repetition of *happier*, and structural balance in *Paradise—Eden*.

This my long sufferance, and my day of grace,  
They who neglect and scorn shall never taste;

—P. L. III, 198

No more than an assonance here, as Lowell realizes. There seems less excuse for this instance than for those above. The next and last example is indisputably an unfortunate slip of Milton's pen:

So far remote, with diminution seen,  
First in his east the glorious lamp was seen,

—P. L. VII, 369

Lowell's discussion of Milton's versification<sup>12</sup> is largely scholarly and sane; but he is at times surprisingly lacking in æsthetic intuition.

Milton [he writes,<sup>13</sup> for instance], like other great poets, wrote some bad verses, and it is wiser to confess that they are so than to conjure up some unimaginable reason why the reader should accept them as the better for their badness. Such a bad verse is

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens and shapes of death—

—P. L. II, 621

One can scarcely understand how Lowell could have failed so miserably to feel the æsthetic reason for the line last quoted. It would be preposterous to imagine Milton's having *accidentally* written a line which in any other setting and without its evident *raison d'être* would surely be a fearful blotch for our "flawless" master to make.

Throughout *Paradist Lost*, Lowell finds, the autobiographical

<sup>12</sup> See primarily the essay on *Milton*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

element is prominent. But in his interpretation of this element, Lowell is again at times self-contradictory. A case in point is his interpretation of the political implications of Book One. "Those fallen angels in utter ruin and combustion hurled," he writes in *Milton*,<sup>14</sup> are also Cavaliers fighting against the Good Old Cause." But in *Shakespeare Once More*,<sup>15</sup> he otherwise interprets "Satan and his colleagues, with whom, as foiled rebels and republicans, he cannot conceal his sympathy."

Aside from *Paradise Lost*, Lowell's criticism of Milton's individual poems is more or less fragmentary and distressingly conventional. The same impressionistic inconsistency of critical temper which we have noted in the case of *Paradise Lost* is also evident in his observations on *Samson Agonistes*. In *Swinburne's Tragedies*<sup>16</sup> he can grow ardently enthusiastic and assert that "to compose such a drama on such a theme was to *be Greek*, and not to counterfeit" and that the *Samson Agonistes* "is the most masterly piece of English versification"; in *Milton*<sup>17</sup> he can characterize "the more metrical passages in the Old Testament [as] finer and more scientific than anything in the language, unless it be some parts of *Samson Agonistes*"; and then in *Chaucer*<sup>18</sup> he can about-face and say, "His *Samson Agonistes* is singularly harsh and un-musical, and often far less metrical than the sonorous and enthusiastical sentences which jut out continually above the level of his prose."

Such prevalent inconsistency is genuinely surprising in a critic of Lowell's traditional reputation.

### III

The critical material that we have just examined reveals Lowell as one whose critical powers are largely impressionistic. Furthermore, he has said in his criticism of Milton chiefly the conventional things, and little that is new. In detached passages, it is true, he has revealed a keen insight into Milton's technique; as, for instance, in his really excellent discussion of Milton's metrics, albeit even here he is occasionally erratic. Perhaps his contribution to the Miltonic

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> *Works*, III, 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Conversation on Some of the Old Poets* (New York, 1901), p. 107.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 132.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 92.

tradition consists chiefly in his ability to kindle our enthusiasm for Milton, though one might, indeed, well question whether our enthusiasm is primarily for the English poet or for the passages of sonorous rhetoric in which Lowell embodies his prose tributes. Might not one apply to Lowell his own judgment of Milton, that "he was far more rhetorician than thinker"?



## CHARLES HINE AND HIS PORTRAIT OF POE

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THOUGH the authenticity, as an original likeness, of Charles Hine's painting of Poe seems to be definitely disproved, it so happens that the most definite statement concerning it is buried in the files of a trivial and short-lived magazine, and that the two authors to whom students are likeliest to turn for facts either about Poe himself or about his portraits were not aware of the picture's history. Hervey Allen says of it:

It was during this last summer at Fordham, in 1848, that Poe is said to have had a portrait painted by Charles Hine, a Connecticut artist. Poe is shown in a dressing gown, seated by his table, with a bust of Pallas, some books, and a manuscript upon it. He is depressed and cynical, and bears the stamp of great suffering in the drawn lines of his face. The contrast between the right and left sides of the countenance is so startling as to defy description. Very little is known about the history of this picture which has but recently come to light.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Allen adds in a footnote that he bases his statement upon Professor James Southall Wilson's *Facts about Poe*,<sup>2</sup> which he justly describes as "the most authentic text for the discussion of portraits of Poe," as Mr. Allen's own book is the best and completest biography.

In July, 1926, *The Literary Digest International Book Review* republished the Hine portrait from Professor Wilson's brochure; whereupon Mr. J. H. Whitty wrote to say that Miss Mary E. Phillips holds a letter in which the late George E. Story of New York states that he was present in Hine's studio while the artist was painting the portrait from a daguerreotype loaned him by Mrs. Clemm. Mr. Whitty's letter was published in the October issue of the *Review*, which was then on the point of ceasing publication. Since Mr. Whitty's statement appeared too late for Mr. Allen to correct his reference in *Israfel*, and since, when he wrote, Mr. Whitty was not in

<sup>1</sup> Hervey Allen, *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1927), p. 753.

<sup>2</sup> *The University of Virginia Record Extension Series*, Vol. X, No. 8, April, 1926.

possession of all the ascertainable facts regarding the Hine portrait, it seems advisable that those facts be put on record for the guidance of future students.

The Hine portrait is now in the Cleveland Public Library, to which it was presented in 1921 by Mrs. Benjamin Bole from the estate of her father, the late Mr. Liberty Holden of Cleveland. Painted on the back of the canvas is the following inscription:

E A Poe  
C Hine  
Pinx<sup>t</sup> 1848

Pasted on the canvas are two cards. The first, printed, reads "Collection of Thomas Corner"; the other, hand-written, says:

Charles Hine, the painter of Poe's portrait (*vide Art and Artists in Connecticut* by H. W. French, p. 135) was born in Bethany, 1827; died in New York, 1871. His masterpiece, "Sleep," a nude figure, was considered the finest work of its kind ever attempted in America. He was a personal friend of Poe.

Though the former owner's information about Hine is not wholly accurate, the artist's own inscription would seem at first glance to prove that the portrait was done from life. But the information given Miss Phillips by the late Mr. Story indicates that the date must refer to the daguerreotype from which the portrait was made, and not to the time at which it was painted. Mr. Story, who for many years was Curator of Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, was emphatic and explicit in his statement to Miss Phillips that he had been present in Hine's Connecticut studio, about 1852, when the artist was making the portrait from a daguerreotype lent him by Mrs. Clemm.<sup>3</sup> Such positive testimony from a responsible art-critic must be accepted as conclusive, the more so as it is supported by the ascertainable facts about the life of Hine.

There is no evidence whatever that Hine and Poe ever met. The artist was born in Bethany, Connecticut, in 1826.<sup>4</sup> A year later his

<sup>3</sup>I wish to acknowledge Miss Phillips's kindness in confirming and amplifying the statement published by Mr. Whitty.

<sup>4</sup>The biographical facts about Hine are derived from H. W. French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut* (New York, 1879); from Trow's *New York City Directory*, in which Hine is first listed in the issue for 1859-60; and from obituary articles in the New Haven papers of July 31, 1871.

father, Lewis Hine, a carpenter by trade, moved his family to New Haven, where at the age of fifteen Charles Hine began to study art under George W. Flagg, later continuing his studies in Hartford under Jared B. Flagg, brother of his first teacher. For two years Hine lived in Derby, and then returned to New Haven, where he continued to paint until 1857. Not till this latter year, eight years after Poe's death, did Hine move to New York, where he had a studio at 363 Broadway and a home at 174 Tenth Avenue.

Hine remained in New York, earning his living mainly by portrait-painting, until a few months before his death. He had contracted tuberculosis, and at last, forced to give up his work, he returned early in 1871 to New Haven, where he died July 29, 1871, aged forty-four years and ten months. Rather early in his sojourn in New York he had formed a warm friendship with Walt Whitman; his portrait of Walt is the original of the frontispiece in the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Horace Traubel reports some comments on Hine which Whitman made on December 18, 1888,<sup>5</sup> and prints two letters, the one a draft of a letter of congratulation which Whitman wrote to Hine when the artist's painting, "Sleep," was favorably spoken of in *Watson's American Art Journal*,<sup>6</sup> the other a pathetic letter from Hine's almost destitute widow, written soon after her husband's funeral. From Mrs. Hine's letter we learn that Whitman had visited the artist in his last illness, and an obituary of Hine, written by G. E. Townsend of New Haven for *The New Haven Daily Morning Journal and Courier* of July 31, 1871, adds the following details:

. . . It was a great comfort to him, a day or two before he passed away, . . . when his old mystical poet friend, Walt Whitman, sat by his bed, and with the cheerful simplicity of a child, and with his eyes moist with sympathetic sunshine, talked like a sage of the life beyond. And when Walt went away he pressed his bronzed, white-bearded face to the pallid cheek of the dying painter, and gave him a good-bye kiss.

For more than a quarter of a century the history of Hine's portrait of Poe is obscure, but information furnished by Mr. J. H. Whitty and by Mr. Thomas C. Corner of Baltimore makes clear the suc-

<sup>5</sup> *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, III, 329-331.

<sup>6</sup> April 25, 1868.

cession of ownership since 1880. Mr. Corner writes that the picture was acquired by his father, the Thomas Corner named on the back of the canvas, "previous to 1880, from whom I do not know." In 1907 Mr. Corner sold it to Dr. George Reuling of Baltimore, who two years later sent to John H. Ingram the photograph which is now in the library of the University of Virginia and which Professor Wilson reproduced in his *Facts about Poe*. Apparently Dr. Reuling sold the portrait soon afterwards, for Mr. Whitty states in his published letter that "a photograph from the original painting was sent me some years ago by the late Orin Painter of Baltimore. . . . He purchased the painting from a local dealer for \$50." From Mr. Painter the picture must have passed to Mr. Holden of Cleveland, though his family have no record of the circumstances of its acquisition.

With our present knowledge it is impossible to say for whom the portrait was originally made, but a conjecture may be allowable. So far as the pose and most of the details are concerned, any one of three extant daguerreotypes of Poe might have been the original—the two taken in Providence, one on November 8 and the other on November 14, 1848,<sup>7</sup> or the "Players' Club" daguerreotype, taken in Richmond in 1849, a few weeks before Poe's death. Of the three, however, the Providence likeness of November 8 is the most probable, for in it both the asymmetrical character of the poet's features and his tortured and hag-ridden expression are most strongly brought out. But here arises a difficulty, if Mr. Story was correct in stating that the daguerreotype was lent to Hine by Mrs. Clemm. Both the Providence pictures apparently belonged to Sarah Helen Whitman,<sup>8</sup> and hence the "Players' Club" likeness is the only one which Mrs. Clemm would have been in a position to lend. Against this possibility, however, Hine's date on the canvas, together with the greatest resemblance his picture bears to the earlier of the Providence daguerreotypes, weighs heavily. Is it not possible that Mr. Story, reporting the incident many years later, mistook the name, and that Hine's commission really came from Mrs. Whitman?

<sup>7</sup> Reproduced in Mary E. Phillips, *Poe the Man* (Philadelphia, 1926), pp. 1332 and 1339. The Players' Club picture forms the frontispiece of Vol. II of *Israfel*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Poe the Man*, 1334.

We know that in her last years Mrs. Whitman had a portrait of Poe in her home on Benevolent Street, Providence:

Her sitting-room was at the right of the front door as one entered, and there the lights were always turned down. . . . I think it was in this room that there hung a large portrait of Poe. . . .<sup>9</sup>

The cheap and obvious symbolism of the Hine picture, with its pallid bust of Pallas and the manuscripts on the table, is precisely the sort of thing that would appeal to the woman who once had herself photographed, wearing an imitation Greek helmet, in the rôle of Pallas Athene. If we assume that the picture came on the market shortly after Mrs. Whitman's death, June 27, 1878, the hypothesis here suggested accords well enough with Mr. Corner's statement that his father acquired the picture previous to 1880.

Mrs. Whitman's will, which was drawn on May 30, 1878, less than a month before her death, and admitted to probate on July 23, sheds no light on the problem. She left to the Providence Athenæum "the miniature of my Father painted by Malbone and also my own portrait painted by Jno. N. Arnold"; all her "wearing apparel & household furniture, including books pictures & household ornaments" were left to Mrs. Charlotte F. Dailey, widow of Albert Dailey of Providence, "for her own use, or to be disposed of as she shall see fit."<sup>10</sup>

Even though it has no claim to be an original likeness, the Hine portrait raises a question about Poe which his biographers fail to

<sup>9</sup> Description by Prof. William Whitman Bailey, quoted in Caroline Ticknor, *Poe's Helen* (New York, 1916), p. 281.

The canvas of the portrait measures 14½ by 16¾ inches, and the heavy frame, apparently contemporary, is six inches wide. Whether or not the picture would impress an observer as "large" would of course depend entirely on the size of the room in which it was hung, and on the size of other pictures near it.

<sup>10</sup> From a photostat of the will, which I looked up at Mr. Allen's suggestion. The other principal bequests are as follows:

To the Rhode Island S. P. C. A. . . . .	\$1,000
To the Providence Association for the benefit of Colored Children . . . . .	500
To Mary Brown, Providence . . . . .	50
To Wm. D. O'Connor, Washington . . . . .	100
To Sarah Gould (Mrs. Horace H.) Day, Montreal . . . . .	200
To Rowena N. Gould, niece of Mrs. Day . . . . .	200

Her executor is authorized to expend a sum not to exceed \$1,000 "in the publication of a volume or volumes of my own writings or those of my sister Anna, deceased." Charlotte F. Dailey and Maud Dailey, daughters of the Mrs. Dailey to whom the furniture and household goods were left, are named as residuary legatees.

answer clearly. What color was his hair? It is generally agreed that his eyes were gray, and Hine has painted them so, but descriptions of his hair range from the "brown" of the army enlistment records through a vague "very dark" to Thomas Holley Chivers's declaration that it was "as dark as a raven's wing." Mr. Allen himself seems uncertain, for after quoting the army record on page 205 of *Israfel* he gives the poet "black-brown" hair on page 375 and "raven-black" on page 529. But Hine gives the hair a distinct auburn tinge, which is much more pronounced in the moustache. That he was right is scarcely to be credited; nevertheless, he may not have been wholly wrong. The impersonal army record seems the safest description to accept, and everyone knows that certain types of dark brown hair show a reddish tinge in a cross light, though in other lights they appear almost black. It is fair to assume that people like Chivers, who recalled the hair as raven-black, were misled by unconscious mental association with the theme of Poe's most famous verses.

# KENNEDY'S NOVELS AND HIS POSTHUMOUS WORKS

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## I

NOT ONLY do most histories of American literature fail to mention all of John Pendleton Kennedy's<sup>1</sup> novels, but they ignore completely his miscellaneous works. Even in Professor Parrington's appreciative and scholarly consideration<sup>2</sup> of this early American man of letters, aside from the fiction, only *The Red Book*, *The Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt*, and *The Letters of Mr. Ambrose on the Rebellion* are specifically referred to. Henry T. Tuckerman<sup>3</sup> himself, Kennedy's biographer, overlooks such contributions to American letters as "A Legend of Maryland" and "John Smith" and the little series of later essays patterned after Carlyle and Emerson. It is these miscellaneous works, some of which appeared in newspapers and magazines or as pamphlets, and most of which were included in three posthumous volumes<sup>4</sup> published in 1872, that

<sup>1</sup> Born in Baltimore, Maryland (1795-1870); educated at Baltimore College, now the University of Maryland; fought in the Battle of Bladensburg during the War of 1812; entered profession of law; acted as one of three judges in the Short-story Contest won by Edgar Allan Poe with *The Manuscript Found in a Bottle*; entered Congress, 1838; Provost of the University of Maryland, 1850; Secretary of the Navy in 1852 in the cabinet of Millard Fillmore, in which position he supervised various expeditions such as those of Perry to Japan, Lynch to Africa, Ringgold to China, and Kane to the Arctic regions; president of the first Board of Trustees of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore.

Works: *The Red Book*, 1818-1819; *Swallow Barn*, 1832; *Horseshoe Robinson*, 1836; *Rob of the Bowl*, 1838; *Quodlibet*, 1840; *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt*, 1849; *Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors*, 1864; *Political and Official Papers*, 1872; *Occasional Addresses*, 1872; and *At Home and Abroad*, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> *The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860*, by Vernon Louis Parrington (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927), pp. 46-56.

<sup>3</sup> Tuckerman wrote *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (G. P. Putnam: New York, 1871).

<sup>4</sup> *At Home and Abroad* is divided into four parts. The "Chronicles," which make up part 1, are stories of John Smith and of George Talbot. The "Essays," part 2, are on Antiquity, Custom, Work, The Instinct of Society, the People, Congress, Demagogues. The "Miscellanies," part 3, deal with old Baltimore—the Court House, The Theater, Saint Paul's Church, and Baltimore Street—and with satires connected with dancing, the sluggishness of legal proceedings, office-holding, condemnation of land for public improvement, and the Democratic party. Part 4 comprises "The Leaves from a Journal Abroad in 1866-1868."

give the reader the most helpful material for an understanding of Kennedy and his novels. They impress us with the fact that he should be judged, not as a Southerner, not as an imitator of Irving and Cooper, but as an independent and alert student, a historian, an antiquarian, with a taste for a story, an eye for the picturesque, and a whim for the satirical.

To appraise Kennedy's work as that of a Southern writer is misleading. He was not Southern in birth or in political or economic sympathy. Born of a Scotch-Irish immigrant and a West Virginia<sup>5</sup> woman; married first into the family of a Baltimore shipping merchant, later into that of a Baltimore manufacturer; connected by family with people in Philadelphia, New York, and Cincinnati, as well as in Virginia and South Carolina; politically opposed to the Southern principles of free trade and state rights; later, in his essay *The Border States* and in his *Letters of Mr. Ambrose*, even acrimonious in his criticism of the Southern attitude towards secession, he looked upon the South (Virginia), not as a native, but as a visitor, an acute observer, tolerant of what he called the feudalism of the South and appreciative of what he considered the quaintness of a passing order. And as for his imitation of Irving and Cooper, only his youthful essays in *The Red Book* resemble Irving, and only *Horseshoe Robinson* resembles Cooper. His *Swallow Barn*, so often compared with *The Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall*, differs radically from both in possessing two narrative threads that closely knit

In *Occasional Addresses*, the most interesting speeches are at the opening of the college department of the University of Maryland, 1831, on the value of a general education; before the American Institute, New York, 1833, on a protective tariff and a sound currency; before the citizens of Baltimore, 1834, on the life of William Wirt; before the Maryland Historical Society, 1855, on the life of George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore; before the Asbury Sabbath School, 1846, on the Life of William Thorn, Scotch artisan-poet.

This volume also includes the eleven "Letters of Mr. Ambrose on the Rebellion," in which Kennedy discussed the principles of our Constitution and the theory of secession.

*Political and Official Papers* contains speeches and essays mostly about the tariff, the currency, and aspects of secession.

<sup>5</sup> Following Tuckerman, who writes that Kennedy's father "married a daughter of Philip Pendleton, of Berkley County, Virginia," our literary historians call the mother a Virginia woman. Until the Civil War, to be sure, Berkeley County was in Virginia, but afterward West Virginia, a distinction that has some bearing on Kennedy's life. Professor Parrington, in his discussion of *Swallow Barn*, states that, for material, Kennedy "went back to his old home." Except for occasional visits, Kennedy never lived south of the Potomac River. *Swallow Barn*, furthermore, was on the James River, Virginia, a long distance from the home of Kennedy's mother in West Virginia.



all the character sketches and episodes, including the stories of Mike Brown and the slave boy Abe, into an organic whole. Even if the similarity were closer, what of *Rob of the Bowl*, "A Legend of Maryland," and *Quodlibet*, for which we find no exact parallel in either American or English literature?

## II

With these two impressions at least strongly disputed, for a more complete understanding of Kennedy and his work, a comparison between certain aspects of his novels and the three posthumous volumes will be interesting. Beginning with *Swallow Barn*,<sup>6</sup> we note that only in this work does he picture plantation life and customs of the South. Elsewhere in his writings, the closest approach to *Swallow Barn* is the series of four essays in *At Home and Abroad*—"Baltimore Long Ago," "Experiences of a Middle-Aged Gentleman," "Chronicles of the Court House," and "The Fancy Ball"—and the speech before the Maryland Institute in 1851, all chiefly reminiscent of an earlier period in Baltimore just as *Swallow Barn* is reminiscent of the corresponding period in Virginia. And in each case he takes, with the exception of some literary privileges, the point of view of the unbiased historian.

The miscellaneous works indicate that the distinctive Southern views he expresses in this first novel are mainly those of his characters rather than his own. On the question of state rights, Meriwether says in *Swallow Barn*, "The sovereignty of this Union will be as the rod of Aaron;—it will turn into a serpent and swallow up all that struggle with it." Chapter XVIII on "The National Anniversary," which contains the rustics' discussion of eminent domain and state rights, also pictures the jealousy of the South over the encroachments of the National Government. On the other hand, Letters IX and X of *Mr. Ambrose*,—which of course represent Kennedy's own opinion—after reviewing the history of the doctrine of state rights and sovereignty and discussing it as a question of political theory, repudiate it emphatically. On the question of slavery, still in con-

<sup>6</sup> In *Swallow Barn*, there are two stories, closely related, running through a series of character sketches and episodes. The first story revolves about a friendly litigation between two neighbors over a piece of worthless property. The other story is that of a love affair which keeps the disputed land in both families.

formity with state rights, Meriwether insists, in the chapter on "The Quarter," that "the question of emancipation is exclusively our own, and every intermeddling with it from abroad will but mar its chance of success." In this same discussion, the Southerner even reaches the views apparently held by Kennedy—the views of a mild abolitionist.

Kennedy's own view, as expressed in 1860 in his essay, "The Border States," coincides in general with that of his Southern cousin:

In truth, slavery has not, in itself—I mean African slavery as now existing in the United States—the condition for any vehemently honest indignation against it; nor, on the other side, for any vehemently honest affection for it. African slavery, in this country, at least, is, for the most part, a clear gain to the savage it has civilized. Whatever it may be to others, it has been a blessing to *him*.

In Letter XI of *Mr. Ambrose*, written in 1865, Kennedy urges that further treatment of the negro be left to each state and advises that the freedman, if he can read the Bible, be given the vote.<sup>7</sup>

There is one more close connection between *Swallow Barn* and the posthumous works in the reference in Chapter XLVIII of the novel to an old book in Meriwether's library giving an account of the life of John Smith. About this, Kennedy writes, "I have sometimes marveled why our countrymen, and especially those of Virginia, have not taken more pains to exalt the memory of Smith," and he eulogizes Smith's character through seven pages. Proceeding to execute his own suggestion, in a light debonair style which he no doubt thought befitting the chivalry and romance of his subject, he wrote an account<sup>7a</sup> of John Smith's life, including the explorer's adventures with the Turks, his love affairs, as well as his achievements in Virginia. (This is included in *At Home and Abroad*, pp. 1 to 36.)

Kennedy's second novel, *Horseshoe Robinson*,<sup>8</sup> has only a gen-

<sup>7</sup> See also Letter VI (1863).

<sup>7a</sup> Not included in the second edition of *Swallow Barn*.

<sup>8</sup> *Horseshoe Robinson* is called in its sub-title a tale of the Tory ascendancy in South Carolina, in 1780. Major Arthur Butler, American officer, in company with Horseshoe Robinson, is betrayed by an American Tory named Wat Adair and, after being wounded, falls into the hands of the British. Robinson escapes, and Butler is tried and sentenced to be executed as a spy. He is rescued by Robinson, but later again falls into the hands of the British. He is their captive when they are beset by an American army at King's Mountain. During the battle, Horseshoe Robinson kills the villain, James Curry, rescues Butler, and restores him to the arms of his sweetheart.

eral connection with the posthumous work in that it further reveals the author's interest in the history of his country and his insistence on the authenticity of character and incident. It is strange that to the specific interest in the background and events of this story, on which his fame has largely rested, he never again recurs. It is thrust into his attention later, as indicated in his diary, when a dramatized version, "fabricated by Mr. T—— of the Holliday Street Theater," was presented in Baltimore in 1856. This is Clifton W. Tayleure's version, played with James K. Hackett in the title part.<sup>9</sup> The popularity of the play is no doubt chiefly the cause of the frequent misstatement that the novel is Kennedy's most representative work.

In *Rob of the Bowl*<sup>10</sup> Kennedy taps a supply of literary material which he continues to exploit with industry and apparent pleasure—that is, the story of the various Lords Baltimore and the colonization of Maryland and Avalon. At the very end of *Rob of the Bowl*, he addresses the reader as follows: "And so, gentle reader, good night! We part, I would even indulge the hope, but for a short period; after which we may find motive to look again into the little city and renew our acquaintance." This promise of another story with the same background was fulfilled in the excellent little mystery romance of an antiquarian called "A Legend of Maryland,"<sup>11</sup> undoubtedly one of the best, but least known, pieces from Kennedy's pen. As a tale of ratiocination, involving an outlawed kinsman of Lord Baltimore, an old book, an antiquarian's adventures in the ruins of a colonial estate, graveyard epitaphs, dusty documents in the State House, hatred between Catholics and Protestants, a murder, trial, and the rescue of the murderer by his wife, "A Legend of Maryland" is, in content and manner, one of the most interesting works of our early writers; ranking in originality if not in concentra-

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Montrose J. Moses includes the play (text based on an edition issued by Samuel French) in his *Representative Plays by American Dramatists*, published by E. P. Dutton. In an introduction, Mr. Moses writes, "Ireland refers to a version of the play which was presented the very year of the novel's publication, and he credits the same to Charles Dance, a prolific dramatist of the day. But though Ireland claims that it was played at the New York National, in 1836, he gives a wrong date, October 23 (it was November 23 instead), which fell on Sunday. Brown records the fact that the piece was presented at the New York Park Theater on March 19, 1841."

<sup>10</sup> *Rob of the Bowl* is a story of Saint Mary's City, the first capital of Maryland, about 1675. As a background it uses the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants, and one of the chief events is an attempt on the part of the Protestants to overthrow Lord Baltimore.

<sup>11</sup> "A Legend of Maryland" is included in *At Home and Abroad*, pp. 37 to 87.

tion of effect, with Poe's mystery stories. Of interest to the student of Kennedy's sources of *Rob of the Bowl* are the references in "A Legend of Maryland," not only to the Journal of the Council but to histories of Maryland by Bozman, Chalmers, and Grahame.

In these two narrative works set in early Maryland, as well as in a "Discourse on the Life and Character of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, before the Maryland Historical Society, December 9, 1885,"<sup>12</sup> Kennedy emphasizes the feud between the Catholic and Protestant settlers and the tolerance of the Catholic founders. In all references to this enmity, his sympathies are against the Protestants decidedly in favor of the Catholics. In this connection he attempts to be true to what he considers the facts of history, because, as is shown in his "Leaves from a Journal Abroad," he had an aversion to certain aspects of the Catholic Church.<sup>13</sup> In his reference to church buildings in Spain, he writes, "There is only one of these dominating structures to each of these towns—a very striking and enduring exponent of that enforced agreement of creed that levels and oppresses the mind of the nation, and of that intolerance of rule that allows no dissent of opinion."<sup>14</sup> Again, in his description of the dances in the church service at Seville, he comments:

Doubtless, to those who are educated in the belief of a Christianity that allows and encourages the admixture of sensual gratification as an incentive to devotion; which supplements the gospel by the romantic fiction of tradition; which is willing to accept emotion for piety, and the transports of the imagination as evidence of love to God, and which elevates the fascination of church pageantry and decoration to the dignity of holy inspiration—doubtless, such persons . . . witnessed this ceremony and participated in its performance, with a fervent, though I could not say genuine, religious devotion.<sup>15</sup>

He compares the priests of the Greek church with those of the Catholic as follows: "They are neither so egotistic as the Roman priests, nor so inaccessible to the influences of human sympathy."<sup>16</sup> In other words, in the "Journal," Kennedy's comments are subjective, but in the narratives, he assumes the objective point of view of the student.

<sup>12</sup> In *Occasional Addresses*, pp. 125-164. See also the Appendix, p. 165.

<sup>13</sup> Kennedy was a Presbyterian. See his autobiography, Tuckerman's *Life*, p. 34.

<sup>14</sup> *At Home and Abroad*, p. 352.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 357.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402.

Concerning Kennedy's attitude toward the current political questions on which he based his satirical novel *Quodlibet*, the posthumous works afford much detailed information. On the controversy relating to the banks, and on Jackson's maladministration of public affairs—in which connection Kennedy makes, in *Quodlibet*, his most vigorous attacks on the Democratic party—he wrote no less than six works: "An Address Delivered before the American Institute,"<sup>17</sup> New York, 1833; "Speech Delivered in the House of Representatives, 1838, on the Sub-Treasury Bill";<sup>18</sup> "Speech on the Bill Making Appropriations for the Civil and Diplomatic Service,"<sup>18</sup> 1839; the "Counter Report from the Select Committee on the Currency,"<sup>18</sup> 1842; A "Defence of the Whigs,"<sup>18</sup> 1843; and "The Brown Papers."<sup>19</sup> Although written in a direct, literal style, they parallel the novelist's invectives, in *Quodlibet*, against the Sub-Treasury and Jackson's and Van Buren's vacillations and encroachments on the legislative powers of the government. And the satire in *Quodlibet* on such general subjects as demagoguery, inflated progress, and the treachery of office-holders is echoed, although less dramatically, in the essay on "Demagogues,"<sup>19</sup> his address on "The Spirit of the Age,"<sup>17</sup> and "The Confessions of an Office-Holder."<sup>19</sup> Of these posthumous works, the political writings—the speeches, the report on the currency, and "The Defence of the Whigs,"—are of singular interest in that they display very little of the author's ability at satire as we find it in the narrative works and most of the essays. When he deals with ideas alone, he is apparently sobered by their seriousness. It is only when he places characters in the background of ideas that he rises to the type of satire that impels him to take the opposite side of a question and, with apparent ingenuousness, deliver his enemies to his friends.

### III

A study of the posthumous works, together with the novels, gives us a new conception of Kennedy as a literary man. He is too cosmopolitan to warrant the provincial appellation of "Southern" or "Northern." He is too broad in his interests and abilities to deserve the criticism that he apes Irving and Cooper, who are no more his

<sup>17</sup> *Occasional Addresses*, p. 48.

<sup>18</sup> In *Political and Official Papers*.

<sup>19</sup> In *At Home and Abroad*.

masters than Dickens and Emerson and Carlyle and Jane Austen and Disraeli and Poe and Daniel Webster. Too discerning and forceful in character for servile imitation, he rather possessed the sophistication, audacity, and power which we notice today in such writers as Sinclair Lewis and H. L. Mencken, as generally illustrated by the following passages, of many that might be chosen:

"We start comparatively with nothing," the bank cashier says in *Quodlibet*. "I may say, speaking of myself—absolutely with nothing. We shall make a large issue of paper, predicated upon the deposits; we shall accommodate everybody . . . not forgetting our friends, and more particularly ourselves. We shall pay, in this way, our stock purchases. You may run up a square of warehouses on the Basin; I will join you in the transaction, give you the plan of operations, furnish architectural models, supply the funds. We will sell out the buildings at a hundred per cent advance before they are finished; Fog [one of the bank directors] will be the purchaser. We have then only to advertise in the papers this extraordinary rise of property in Quodlibet—procure a map to be made of our new city; get it lithographed, and immediately sell the lots on the Exchange of New York at a most unprecedented valuation. My dear Sir, I have just bought a hundred acres of land adjoining the Borough, with an eye to this very speculation. You shall have an interest of one-half in this operation at a reasonable valuation—I shall want but a small profit, say two hundred per cent."<sup>20</sup>

Our Mexican War broke out, and California . . . fell from the hands of its feeble and incurious Aztec-Gothic possessor and became the heritage of our mission-seeking and Manifest-Destiny-following American-Saxon.<sup>21</sup>

Nor is it at all a new thing to set up a popular sin to be extirpated by law. Many quack politicians have been wasting their energies for years upon the abortive attempt to legislate peaceable families into the disuse of spirituous liquors, by bringing alcohol into platforms and making parties upon it; but alcohol has gained the day and the Maine Liquor Law has become a dead letter. The world laughs at this prodigality of ineffectual zeal. May we not learn to treat with quiet scorn the more malignant but still important ebullitions of the sanctimonious vanity of New England.<sup>22</sup>

Substitute "Eighteenth Amendment" for "Maine Liquor Law" and "Baptists and Methodists" for "New England," and, disregarding the more ponderous phrase, you have Mencken!

<sup>20</sup> *Quodlibet*, first edition, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> "Spirit of the Age," *Occasional Addresses*, p. 294.

<sup>22</sup> "The Border States," *Political and Official Papers*, p. 577.

Kennedy is, in general, to be understood as a man of affairs and a student of his time, with a strong antiquarian interest—as a member of Congress and Secretary of the Navy and yet a Professor of History in the University of Maryland. Although active in the controversies of his day he takes time for the study of old documents and musty books and old songs and antiquated pleasures like falconry, which plays an important part in *Swallow Barn*, *Rob of the Bowl*, and “A Legend of Maryland.” He possesses the social acumen of a politician, the scholarship and culture of a student of history, and the imagination of the literary man. These faculties he governs with the principle suggested in the second paragraph of his “Legend of Maryland.”

That which makes history the riches of philosophies and the most genial pursuit of humanity is the spirit of former generations, interpreted in actions and incidents that disclose the passions, motives, and ambition of men, and open to us a view of the actual life of our forefathers. When we can contemplate the people of a past age employed in their own occupations, observe their habits and manners, comprehend their policy and their methods of pursuing it, our imagination is quick to clothe them with the flesh and blood of human brotherhood and to bring them into full sympathy with our individual nature. History then becomes a world of living figures, a theater that presents to us a majestic drama, varied by alternate scenes of the grandest achievements and the most touching episodes of human existence.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### A NOTE ON COLUMBIA COLLEGE

ROYAL A. GETTMANN

*The University of Illinois*

WRITERS on Joaquin Miller have been rather uncertain as to the nature of Columbia College, from which the poet was graduated in 1859. Professor F. L. Pattee, in the following statement concerning the institution, has given the most complete information now available:

He [Miller] did complete a course in Columbia University, Eugene, Oregon, in 1859, but it was an institution in no way connected with the present University of Oregon. It was, rather, a mission school maintained by the Methodist Church South, and according to Professor Herbert C. Howe of the University of Oregon, "its instruction was, at its utmost stretch, not enough to carry its pupils through the first half of a high school course, and most of its pupils were of grammar grade." It was closed suddenly early in the Civil-War period because of the active Southern sympathies of its president, who was himself very nearly the whole "University." It is significant that at almost the same time the Eugene *Democratic Register* edited by Miller was suppressed for alleged disloyalty to the Union.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this note is to make available a more detailed statement of the history and character of Columbia College. Dr. S. B. Laughlin has recently made a thorough investigation of the early educational institutions of Oregon. The results of his work, however, appeared in a periodical of such limited distribution that his account of Columbia College will be reproduced here. In the light of Dr. Laughlin's research Professor Pattee is in error on the following minor points: 1. The term *university* was never properly applied to the institution. Even Miller himself, who, in his eagerness to make the school seem impressive, erroneously identified it with the State University, was content to use the humbler word *college*.<sup>2</sup> 2. The institution was not a mission school. 3. It was

<sup>1</sup> *A History of American Literature since 1870* (New York: The Century Company, 1915), p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Poems*, Bear Edition (Whitaker and Ray: San Francisco, 1909-10), I, 78.



not maintained by the Methodist Church South. 4. If, as Stuart P. Sherman states, Miller began to edit *The Democratic Register* in 1863,<sup>3</sup> Professor Pattee's "almost the same time" may be altered to a more definite statement. Columbia College was "dead" by the autumn of 1860; consequently three years elapsed before Miller's newspaper was suppressed. The error of placing the college under the maintenance of the Methodist Church South may be easily understood in view of the fact that this denomination did support an Oregon institution of the same name. "Columbia College (known from 1908 to 1924 as Columbia Junior College) was founded in Milton, Oregon, by the Methodist Church South, and it existed until 1924, when the dormitory burned."<sup>4</sup>

Dr. S. B. Laughlin's account of the Columbia College which Joaquin Miller attended is here given in full:

The Cumberland Presbyterians around Eugene, under the leadership of Reverend A. J. Cornwall from Arkansas, Neill Johnson from Illinois, and Joseph Robertson from Tennessee, began in 1853 to raise funds for a college building which was completed in 1856. Meanwhile, a Board of Trustees had secured a charter from the territorial legislature of 1854-55 as Columbia College.

The College opened November 3, 1856 with E. P. Henderson, a graduate of Waynesburg College, Pa., as president. In the fourth day after opening the building was destroyed by fire which was believed to be of incendiary origin. Undismayed the friends of the college began at once a second building on the site of the old while the classes, with the loss of only a day, met in a nearby house. This second building was burned February 26, 1858. A third building of stone was soon started while the classes met in a nearby tavern until the spring of 1859. By this time trouble had developed over the slavery question between the Board of Trustees and President Henderson. A majority of the Board were pro-slavery while Henderson was a Freesoiler. A Mr. Ryan of Virginia was secured to fill the place left vacant by the resignation of President Henderson. Ryan was a strong pro-slavery man and wrote articles under the name of Vindex for the *Pacific Herald* in which he attacked the anti-slavery party rather vigorously. One of the students, H. R. Kincaid, replied in the *People's Press* under the name of Anti-Vindex. Mr. Ryan

<sup>3</sup> *Americans* (Scribners: New York, 1922), p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> From a personal letter from Mr. Earl Pemberton, of the Department of Sociology, the University of Oregon.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Mary Wilkins Freeman. Edward Foster (Harvard). Subject released by Constance Magee (Pennsylvania).

Poe's Precursors in the Stories of Ratiocination. Amelia Long (Pennsylvania).

Francis Hopkinson Smith. Courtland White (Pennsylvania).

Frank R. Stockton. H. L. Wilson (Pennsylvania).

Maurice Thompson. George A. Schumacher (Virginia).

Whitman's Backgrounds in the Life and Thought of His Time. Alice L. Cooke (Texas).

Whitman and the Civil War. Charles I. Glicksberg (Pennsylvania). [Mr. Glicksberg writes: "I have discovered a number of unpublished Whitman articles relating to the Broadway hospital and the Bowery during the early part of the Civil War. These articles will soon be published."]

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

A History of the Philadelphia Theater, 1900-10. Martin J. Griffin (Pennsylvania).

The Literature of Science in the American Colonies from the Beginnings to 1765. Winthrop Tilley (Brown).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

A History of Early American Magazines, 1741-89. Lyon N. Richardson (Columbia). New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1931.

The Negro Author: His Development in America. Vernon Loggins (Columbia). New York: Columbia University Press, 1931.

The Periodicals of American Transcendentalism. Clarence L. F. Gohdes (Columbia). Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1931.

### IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Lowell's Unpublished Letters sought by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, 26 Brimmer Street, Boston.

*Southern Methodist University.* ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

JOSEPH HOPKINSON, 1770-1842: *Jurist, Scholar, Inspirer of the Arts, Author of 'Hail Columbia.'* By Burton Alva Konkle. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. \$4.00.

Joseph Hopkinson, as the title of Mr. Konkle's book suggests, was a man of many interests and many talents. His most conspicuous achievements were performed in his vocation, the law, and for this reason about two-thirds of the chapters in the biography deal with his career as a jurist. Like most lawyers, he was interested in politics. He was a leader of the Federalist Party, which he represented in the fourteenth and fifteenth sessions of Congress and which would have returned him for a third term had he not declined re-nomination. He was interested in scholarly pursuits and is reputed to have been the editor of the first edition of Shakespeare published in America. He had literary ambitions of his own, and wrote a number of poems and several literary essays. He was a public-spirited citizen and a leader in many clubs and societies organized to encourage art and letters.

Hopkinson began his career as a lawyer under most favorable circumstances. He had had at the University of the State of Pennsylvania a general training superior to that of most young Americans of his time. He had read law under two of the most eminent jurists of his native city, William Rawle, a brilliant young man who had recently completed his own legal studies in the Middle Temple, and James Wilson, whom Mr. Konkle calls the "chief maker" of the Constitution of the United States. Moreover, he was descended from a family in which the law was almost the traditional profession. Many of his ancestors in England had been barristers; his great-grandfather was a scrivener; his grandfather and his father had both been famous lawyers and distinguished judges.

Hopkinson took up the practice of law, not in Philadelphia, where his name alone would probably have insured his success, but in Easton; here he soon established a reputation of his own by winning many cases, in some of which he was opposed by the ablest lawyers in the state. After spending three years in the northern district, he returned to his native city, which remained his home during the rest of his life.

Not long before he left Easton, Joseph Hopkinson was married to Miss Emily Mifflin, only child of General Thomas Mifflin, a prominent citizen who had been a member of Washington's staff and a governor of Pennsylvania.

After his return to Philadelphia Hopkinson advanced rapidly in his profession and soon acquired both wealth and reputation. He took part in the trial of many cases, some of them famous in the history of law; he drew up numerous statutes; he had an important part in the revision of the Constitution of Pennsylvania; he represented his district in Congress; and he rose to the rank of judge of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Several chapters of Mr. Konkle's book deal with the famous cases in which Hopkinson won distinction as a lawyer. He represented Dr. Benjamin Rush in a suit for libel against the English journalist William Cobbett and won a verdict against that redoubtable pamphleteer. He defended against the charge of treason some of the leaders of the "Fries Rebellion," and secured their acquittal, though Justice Samuel Chase, who presided at the trial, desired their conviction. Later when Chase himself was impeached by Congress for showing prejudice in this trial, particularly against Captain John Fries, leader of the rebellion, he employed Hopkinson to defend him, and was pleased when his attorney conducted his defense as ably and successfully as he had that of Fries. He was invited by Daniel Webster to assist him in the famous Dartmouth College Case, tried before the Supreme Court of the United States, and he took part in other important cases tried before that tribunal.

In numerous quotations from Hopkinson's addresses to juries, and from his opinions from the bench, Mr. Konkle produces abundance of evidence to show that the judge was a man of great native ability, that he was learned in the law, and that on all occasions he revealed himself to be a man of humane and generous spirit.

Following the story of Hopkinson's almost uniformly successful career in the law through the fifteen or more chapters that Mr. Konkle gives to that subject, the reader is likely to forget how exciting were the times in which Hopkinson lived and how troublesome the distractions that sometimes interfered with his labors. As a child, he witnessed two Hessian raids on Bordentown, New Jersey, during both of which his father's house was plundered and during one of which his grandfather's house was burned. While he was studying law, the country in general and Pennsylvania in particular were in such a turmoil over the adoption of the Constitution of the United States that civil war at times seemed imminent. When he went to Washington to take his seat in Congress, he found a city that not long before had been partially destroyed by an invading British army. In his latter years, as legal adviser to Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, he was involved in international politics that might easily have involved the United States in serious complications.

From his youth Joseph Hopkinson was interested in scholarship, art, and literature. After his graduation from college he became a member, first of the Philomathean Society and then of the Belles Lettres Society, for the meetings of which he prepared a number of literary essays. According to a tradition, which Mr. Konkle accepts, he edited the first edition of Shakespeare's works published in this country. He was the author of a number of poems. The most famous of these is the patriotic song, "Hail Columbia," which was sung to the tune of "The President's March," an air of uncertain origin which Mr. Konkle believes to have been composed by Philip Roth, a German who had been bandmaster in a British regiment. For several years after it was written this song had much political significance as an expression of the spirit of the Federalist Party, and it is the one work of Hopkinson's that is widely known among readers of the present day.

Hopkinson encouraged and assisted Joseph Dennie in the establishment of *The Port Folio*, and he contributed to that publication articles on Shakespeare. These articles form the chief evidence discovered by Mr. Konkle in support of the tradition that Hopkinson edited Shakespeare's works. Later, when Dennie was prosecuted by political enemies for seditious libel, Hopkinson successfully defended him.

Hopkinson was the founder of the Law Academy and the Academy of Fine Arts, and was one of the founders of the Tuesday Club, which was made up of prominent people who were interested in art and literature. When Thomas Moore visited Philadelphia, the Tuesday Club entertained him at the home of the Hopkinsons and Mrs. Hopkinson sang a song written by her husband in honor of the event. To show his appreciation of Mrs. Hopkinson's hospitality, Moore wrote a poem addressed to her which he later sent to Joseph Dennie.

When he began his *Joseph Hopkinson*, Mr. Konkle assigned himself a difficult task. In the first place, he was obliged to assemble from a vast amount of highly technical material the record of Hopkinson's career as a lawyer. Along with this he was obliged to gather, also from a great many sources, an account of Hopkinson's literary and other activities. And finally he was obliged to amalgamate these dissimilar elements in a unified narrative in which picturesque details and the plain record of solid accomplishment should have the proper emphasis and proportion. The account of Hopkinson's legal career Mr. Konkle has presented admirably. His investigations have convinced him, and will convince most of his readers, that Joseph Hopkinson was a great jurist, the peer of Story, Webster, and Marshall. The story of Hopkinson's less serious activities

is presented in an interesting manner and the transitions from one type of material to the other are in most cases successfully managed. An occasional exception to the rule last stated and the occurrence throughout the book of sentences that are somewhat stiff seem to me the chief faults of this interesting book.

Mr. Konkle's book is well printed and generously illustrated. The author has documented his statements and has provided the reader with a serviceable index. The work is a valuable addition to the long list of biographies that this eminent scholar already has to his credit.

*The University of Arkansas.*

GEORGE E. HASTINGS.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF HENRY JAMES. By Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press. 1930.

Taking as her cue a remark of Sir Edmund Gosse's to the effect that it is difficult to decipher from James's prefaces or from his autobiographical volumes the facts of the novelist's life, Miss Kelley has, in preparation for this dissertation, studied everything that would throw light on the seventeen formative years of his career, correlating in particular the evidence in the writings themselves with contemporary statements by the author in articles and letters. Instead of looking at James in retrospect as most of his critics have hitherto, she sees him as a developing artist, a critic slowly making himself over into a fictionist, a romanticist becoming a realist. Three distinct phases mark these years of apprenticeship. From 1864-69, there is slow development as a writer of reviews for *The North American Review*; from 1869-75 he becomes a facile critic, but his interest lies more and more in stories; in the period, 1875-81, the novelist conclusively emerges with the publication of *The Portrait of a Lady*.

In the beginning James desired to become an American Balzac, though in time *Wilhelm Meister* made him introspective and George Eliot, philosophical. Howells through his admiration for Hawthorne probably influenced him to turn to romanticism; at any rate he sent his romantic stories to Howells for publication in the *Atlantic*, while his realistic ones went to the *Galaxy*. George Sand furthered his romantic artistry, as is apparent in "Gabrielle de Bergerac," and Mérimée suggested the travel basis for his stories of international situation. During his *Wanderjahre* Italy, not England, was his inspiration; of Switzerland he had an overdose; Germans he disliked; and Parisians were not *accueillants*. Only an outsider like Turgénieff struck in him a responsive chord, he too took life hard; forthwith James left behind him the romanticism of Balzac and Hawthorne for the realism of George Eliot and Turgénieff.

As a result of her unique approach to the work of Henry James, Dr. Kelley has been able to correct a number of impressions about the novelist. First, James was American in point of view longer and more loyally than has been supposed. Contrary to the opinion of Van Wyck Brooks and Rebecca West, *A Passionate Pilgrim* exhibits no nostalgia for England but is an adverse criticism of it, for the narrator and not Searle is to be identified with James. Second, James made himself into a fictionist by a genius for work and a willingness to take counsel from successive masters. He deliberately changed his residence, sketched impressions, became a participator rather than a spectator, reflected upon his art, all in order to make his work ring true, for it to have life as well as art.

So consciously developing an experimenter as Henry James is a rewarding subject for a dissertation and Miss Kelley has done well by her subject. She has read her material intelligently, drawn only warranted inferences, and has given her narrative progression and a workmanlike style. In view of this fact it is a little hard to excuse such infelicities as "he jumped from American shores to the English," "tends to drown out," "cannot help but feel," "James had experimented with American girls," and the overuse of "did" for "depicted," "portrayed," etc. The work is somewhat repetitious, and lacks a comprehensive conclusion. Nevertheless, it is a competent monograph on an important subject and reflects credit both upon Miss Kelley and the University of Illinois.

*Southern Methodist University.*

ERNEST E. LEISY.

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH EDWIN BOOTH. By Katherine Goodale (Kitty Molony). Houghton Mifflin: Boston and New York. 1931. xviii, 328 pp.

This is a book for the general reader interested in the past of the American theater. It is the recollections, made up, we are told, from notes recorded at the time, of the young girl who played Jessica, the Player Queen, Fleance, Marion de Lorme, etc., in Booth's transcontinental tour of 1886-7. Its tone of hero-worship is indicated by the fact that she hesitated to join the company lest he do something in the forty weeks to lessen her esteem for him; she closed the season with a greater respect and regard for him than ever. It is full of sentiment, though not painfully so; it is pleasant and often amusing reading.

For the serious student it is mainly important for the way in which it recalls the time when the theater was really a vital institution in American national life. The accounts of Booth's opening nights, especially in Baltimore and San Francisco, still communicate at least a little of the

original thrill, and that of the brass band reception in Cheyenne is really laughable.

It is the sort of book not easy—nor perhaps fair—to check upon too curiously. Still I find it a little hard to see how the company had their moonlight ride across the Rockies between Cheyenne and Denver as the arrangement of the book implies. And the accounts in *The Denver Rocky Mountain News*, the only contemporary source available to me, of the engagement raise some questions as to the accuracy of all Mrs. Goodale's recollections. She says there were usually no vacant seats at any performance, and that the best places were generally \$5.00. In Denver the top price was \$2.50, and though \$3,500 was taken in on the opening night, more than at any previous opening in Denver, still the critic remarks on the vacant seats. Our author is repeatedly thrilled by Booth's voice; the Denver writer is troubled by its sharpness, notes a decrease in its power since fifteen years before, and says ponderously, "the monotony of speaking each word so frequently has overpowered the intellectual treatment." In short, he thought Booth only "the shadow of his former self." He was especially critical of the supporting company in *Hamlet*; Booth was "the diamond that sparkled from the coal dust." They were better in the other plays. *The Merchant of Venice* and *Katherine and Petruchio*, a double bill, was, he says, the best program of the week, which included also *Richelieu*, *The Food's Revenge*, and *Othello*.

Because Miss Molony and two other young actresses of the company had the tact and understanding to overcome not only the exclusiveness usually surrounding a star, but also Booth's characteristic shyness, we see him as host on several informal outings (to Minnehaha, Monterey, the Garden of the Gods), as taking part in several intimate conversations, and even as singing a coon-song and burlesquing his own youthful San Francisco fire-boy. Once we learn how he "horsed" *Richelieu* before an apathetic audience, but was shocked at the suggestion that he would have done so had the bill been *Hamlet*. We are told such intimate details as to how he secured the effect of towering height in the curse scene in *Richelieu*, the care he took that his supporting actors be properly made up and costumed, his resentment at audience applause as a judgment of his work, his insistence that the exact lines of Shakespeare be given, his great ability as a listener on the stage, his method of building up a character, his ambition to play Napoleon but his failure to find a suitable play, his abstemiousness from alcohol, his fear of broken mirrors or peacock feathers in the theater, his great tact and considerateness, his grief over the failure of his own theater—and so on: an idealistic but human presentation of an almost legendary figure.



The book also has a foreword by Mrs. Fiske and a chapter about her, an account of a later meeting with Booth, several pleasant pages about Lawrence Barrett, and a very detailed index.

*The University of Colorado.*

GEORGE F. REYNOLDS.

THE REDISCOVERY OF THE FRONTIER. By Percy Holmes Boynton. 1931.

Kipling writes of an explorer who, even in the first flush of exultation over his find of the country "lost behind the Ranges," perceives cynically the *dénouement* of his discovery:

Well I know who'll take the credit—all the clever chaps that followed—  
Came, a dozen men together—never knew my desert fears;  
Tracked me by the camps I'd quitted, used the water-holes I'd hollowed.  
They'll go back and do the talking. *They'll* be called the Pioneers!

It is with a somewhat similar feeling that one greets "rediscoveries of the frontier" by parlor pioneers who once, serenely oblivious of the westward movement, produced histories of American literature in the approved proportion of a chapter to William Cullen Bryant and a page to Bret Harte, a chapter to Charles Brockden Brown and a page to Hamlin Garland, a chapter to Harriet Beecher Stowe and no mention of Willa Cather. However, some forty years after Turner introduced the frontier to the attention of historians, it has been introduced into literature. Perhaps, as Professor Boynton suggests, its letters of introduction, not coming from those most eminent in the realms of scholarship, left something to be desired, and so its progress up the social ladder has been retarded. However, it is now quite all right; the frontier has been taken under the patronage of the élite and moves in the very best circles of literary criticism.

As the Yankee farmer remarked when returning Thoreau's *Plato*, "That chap seems to have a good many of my ideas." Although Professor Boynton with fastidious exactness deplores the loose use of the word "frontier" to include other than geographical influences, he marches on to the same inevitable pitfall for all who find the consideration of the frontier concept more important than the mere tabulation of frontier phenomena, and closes with a eulogy of Dodsworth who, in facing the American adventure of his generation, an adventure in spiritual pioneering, "keeps alive the spirit of the frontier." Alas! can it be that Professor Boynton, who set out with meticulous scholarship as the surveyor of the geographical frontier, has also been "tempted by serpents in this historico-literary Eden," and lured by the taste of forbidden fruit to grandiose generalizations about good and evil?

Professor Boynton now modestly professes himself "grateful to be

allowed to plod along after the covered wagon in the pursuit of frontier trails." Of course, "plodding" is hardly the word; he skims gracefully and rapidly over the captured territory at a superior height and from his airplane, records, despite a few spectacular triumphs in the preliminary skirmishes, the ultimate defeat, both of the immigrant pioneer and of the native- back-trailer. Professor Boynton sees the immigrant pioneer confronted, not only with the Monster of the Great Plains, but with the ordeal of acquiring a new language, a new soul. He is impaled on the horns of a tragic dilemma: "He may save his soul, but he will be an outcast. Or, if he adjust himself to his barn and his silos and his barbed wire and windmills and tractors, avoids conflict, and makes his little fortune, he will make it at the price of his soul." The tragedy of the back-trailer, if it has less of difficulty, has more of despair. "It must be composed in a minor key and can hardly be more than a sustained anticlimax." Professor Boynton sees the back-trailer as Van Wyck Brooks saw Henry James, doomed to a perpetual shuttling between two inadequate environments, torn, even in his preference for a matured culture, by "a never-dying sense of vague disloyalty to his ancestry, to the men of power from whom he sprang. Ought he to have left the region they had conquered?"

In *Dodsworth* Professor Boynton finds the ideal adjustment for the American of the future. Dodsworth, inspired by "the tradition of pioneers, pushing to the westward across the Alleghanies, through the forests of Kentucky and Tennessee, on to the bleeding plains of Kansas, on to Oregon and California, a religious procession, sleeping always in danger, never resting, and opening a home for a hundred million people," returns to America to carry on the great tradition, not in the crudity of its log cabin and corn pone externals, but in the heroic determination of its essence.

One may question whether, after our long obliviousness to the frontier influence, we are not now "rediscovering" more than was ever there. Professor Boynton, paying a belated visit to the frontier battlefield to report the defeat of the pioneer, magnifies the casualties while honoring the spirit of the closed conflict. But, as James Truslow Adams has pointed out in his recent *Epic of America*, it was not true of all immigrants that "the wilderness masters the colonist." It was, Adams says, true of the English, but not of the French. Possibly the reason for this difference may be found in a comment Willa Cather makes on the French emigrants in *Shadows on the Rock*: "When an adventurer carries his gods with him into a remote and savage country, the colony he founds

will, from the beginning have graces, traditions, riches of the mind and spirit."

If, as Professor Boynton alleges, these graces were conspicuously absent from the American adventure, the resultant conquest of the pioneer which he records may be explicable, not so much in terms of the frontier to which the adventurer came, as in terms of the gods he brought with him. As Glenway Wescott has analyzed the pioneer, he came a disappointed man, fixing his faith in a God whose magic would turn poverty into wealth; or, in other words, in what Ruskin called the Goddess of Getting-On. These are your gods, O Israel and these were the gods the Puritan pioneer brought with him from the triumphant bourgeoisie of Old England to the forests of New England, the gods whom he set up to preside over the Gospel of Wealth for the Chosen People. The gospel worked,—as long as abundant free land gave plausibility to the American dream. When the West was gone, it ceased to work; with the Old West went the old gods. To explain the pessimism and negation of America's "Modern Temper" solely in terms of the disillusioned back-trailer from an exhausted frontier is to tell only half of the story. The significance of the frontier lay in its philosophy; in the Great American Myth of a career open to talents—or without them, in its challenge to the ambitions of the Success Boys, the Will-to-Power Men, the Empire-Builders, the Comfort-Seekers. The significance of the dissipated frontier lies in the dissipation of this philosophy of success. Perhaps the promise for the future of America lies, not as Professor Boynton suggests in "keeping alive the spirit of the frontier," but rather in recognizing that the frontier, the spirit it engendered, and the literature which reflected that spirit, were accidental and temporal; that with their disappearance lies not the end, but the beginning of the real American adventure, which is only the eternal human adventure: the acceptance of failure with fortitude, the faith, not in a God whose magic may turn poverty into wealth, but in a God whose fellowship transfigures poverty.

*Mills College.*

LUCY LOCKWOOD HAZARD.

AMERICAN NATURISTS. By Henry Chester Tracy. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. c. 1930. 282 pp. \$3.90.

It was Liberty Hyde Bailey who coined the word "Naturist," but the term fell at once into disuse until Mr. Tracy revived it for the title of his book. A "naturist" differs from a "naturalist," it seems, in that his interest in the physical universe is at once æsthetic and scientific rather than simply scientific; he is what Ellery Channing long ago called a poet-naturalist.

Unfortunately for the present book, the use of an unusual generic name throws the author at once on the defensive and forces him, probably unwittingly, to spend too much time in justifying his choice of this man or that for consideration as "naturalists." The reader is willing for an author to choose a score or so of naturalists whose keenness of perception transcended mere observation and whose writings may easily be called literature and to devote a few appreciative pages to each. That is what this book does; and one does not ask why Asa Gray was omitted while Roy Chapman Andrews was included. A book too concerned in justifying its own plan can but lead a reader to suspect that the plan's the thing and the essays were cut to fit it.

On the whole, the appreciative essays, each devoting a few pages to a "naturalist" and all arranged in chronological order into two groups—the break falling between Audubon and Thoreau—are pleasant and sincere little eulogies. It is refreshing, for instance, to find Alexander Wilson at last in the company of Burroughs and Frank M. Chapman, and all of them given a place in our literature. It is well to be introduced to that "ingenious person," William Bartram, after having heard so much about his son John. It may be disconcerting to find the author of *English as Experience* giving us the experience of reading about Thoreau, "His fields were for him the air of the universal, and he wished them to." But one can enjoy the book in spite of such lapses, knowing that here is a pleasant volume whose author surely cannot be taking his own thesis too seriously.

*The University of North Carolina.*

RAYMOND ADAMS.

THE CAROLINA LOW COUNTRY. By Augustine T. Smythe, Herbert Ravenel Sass, Alfred Huger, Beatrice Ravenel, Thomas R. Waring, Archibald Rutledge, Josephine Pinckney, Caroline Pinckney Rutledge, DuBose Heyward, Katherine C. Hutson, Robert W. Gordon. New York: Macmillan. 1931. xi + 327 pp. Illustrated.

As a collection of negro spirituals this book is a new departure. Feeling that negro folk-songs lose much of their color, vitality, and meaning when rendered out of their setting—either in concert or on the printed page—the authors of this symposium have undertaken to provide an adequate context for the half hundred songs here presented. The volume is sponsored by a Society for the Preservation of Spirituals, formed some eight years ago by a score of Charlestonians. From a somewhat undefined beginning as a social organization for the singing and enjoyment of spirituals, the society has expanded into a devoted group of serious collectors, nearly one hundred strong.

The environment out of which the spiritual grew is unfolded in a half dozen essays by sons of the soil, who write lovingly but with restraint of the heritage which is theirs. The semi-tropical luxuriance of the Carolina "low-country," its significant part in American history, the glamor of its plantation life, and the prosperous cultured life of its capital, Charleston, are subjects of special chapters by Herbert Ravenel Sass, Alfred Huger, Archibald Rutledge, and Thomas R. Waring—names which echo the historic ones adorning their pages. Two further and superior contributions sketch in the negro against this background. DuBose Heyward tells of the negro who sings the spirituals, and essays, without officiousness and with considerable success, to establish the moot point of the humane relationship between plantation whites and blacks. Robert W. Gordon concludes with an excellent chapter on the negro spiritual itself, perhaps the best and most authoritative short account of the subject available. The whole undertaking is further embellished by the poems of Beatrice Ravenel and Josephine Pinckney, Albert Simons's pen and ink drawings of plantation houses, Elizabeth O'Neill Verner's etchings of Charleston scenes, and color reproductions of Alice R. Huger Smith's paintings of low-country landscape.

Although the spirituals occupy less than a third of the book, the accuracy and fullness of their musical notation and the faithful reproduction of the Gullah dialect represent a painstaking intelligence far in advance of that of most other collectors. Yet the spirit of the amateur, of the literary cavalier uniquely a product of old Charleston, sets the tone throughout. There are no scholarly appendages, save in the reprinting of the songs themselves; and one feels that this is as it should be.

CHARLES R. ANDERSON.

## BRIEF MENTION

EMERSON TODAY: *The Louis Clark Vanuxem Foundation Lectures*, Princeton University, 1931. By Bliss Perry. Princeton: The Princeton University Press. 1931. 140 pp. \$2.00.

Before the time has come to take in sail Professor Perry has given to the world of readers the best of his opinions and information concerning Emerson. Marked by the same happy expository gifts and penetrating insight which used to make his classes at Harvard a stimulating and informing experience to hundreds of students, *Emerson Today* presents in four chapters what may justly be called the best short discussion of Emerson in print.

Beginning with a history of the studies already devoted to the Sage of Concord and a sketch of some of the more important ones now in progress, the work analyzes the chief causes for the notorious Emersonian obscurity, and then proceeds to the pertinent facts of Emerson's life and a discussion of his beliefs as expressed in both his prose and poetry. In the final chapter, significantly entitled "Revaluations," an answer is given to such a critic as Mr. J. T. Adams, who finds Emerson too naïve for a mature modern mind. After emphasizing the modernity of Emerson's political utterances, Professor Perry shows that the Concord seer was never in doubt as to the character of those who would read him with pleasure and profit, and asserts that Emerson's faith "seems far more typical of the current of thought of the day than it did at the beginning of the century."

*Duke University.*

CLARENCE GOHDES.

IMAGISM AND THE IMAGISTS: *A Study in Modern Poetry*. By Glenn Hughes. Stanford University. California: The Stanford University Press. 1931. x, 283 pp. \$4.00.

Believing that there is no "absolute standard" according to which a poet may be classified as an "Imagist," Professor Hughes has limited his Imagist poets to the group organized by Amy Lowell and her money. In seventy pages or so he traces the history of Imagism from the days when T. E. Hulme and Ezra Pound associated with the Poet's Club in Paris down to the time when, Pound having devoted his energies to another sortie in his "running fight with the public," Amy Lowell succeeded in propagandizing the movement into popular favor. Then he proceeds to individual sketches of the lives and works of the various poets involved: Richard Aldington, Hilda Doolittle, John Gould Fletcher, F. S. Flint, D. H. Lawrence, Amy Lowell, and Ezra Pound.

The study contains a clear, well-written analysis of the principles of the Imagists and traces with admirable facility the journalistic reaction to their verse. Frequently Professor Hughes has drawn upon his own conversations with several of the poets for material which a future historian, no doubt, would not be able to glean. As a consequence of his subordination of personal criticism to historical fact he has produced a book which will prove exceedingly useful to students of modern poetry, and which is likely to remain a standard work on its subject.

C. G.

THE PROVINCE OF LITERARY HISTORY. (Johns Hopkins University Monographs in Literary History, No. 1.) By Edwin Greenlaw. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. [1931.] xi, 183 pp. \$1.75.

This volume by the lamented Spenser scholar Edwin Greenlaw is the first of what promises to be a notable series. The following sentences from the author's preface indicate the underlying conceptions governing the series: "They will be compact in form, as readable as the nature of their special subjects will permit, and while fully documented, will endeavor to keep the scaffolding used in the process of construction as unobtrusive as possible." ". . . the purpose of these studies will be the interpretation, not the mere accumulation, of facts." "The history of ideas, rather than biography, of learning rather than literary criticism, constitutes the field of investigation. The purpose is to study the history of civilization through literature rather than to study authors and their works as isolated phenomena." ". . . it is possible to present the results of exact scholarship in a form that is not pedantic without any sacrifice of accuracy and documentation."

We wish all success to a series with such worthy aims. This first volume sets a high standard for the series. It is an admirable book to put into the hands of an intelligent graduate student wishing enlightenment as to the aims and methods of research. The first chapter, "The Province of Literary History," originally read at the 1929 meeting of the Modern Language Association, should be read in connection with Professor Norman Foerster's *The American Scholar* and Professor Howard Mumford Jones's "Graduate English Study: Its Rationale," which appeared in *The Sewanee Review* in 1929 and 1930. The other chapters are "Transcript of Life" and "Fundamental Problems." Finally there are nearly thirty pages of "Commentary and Bibliographical Notes," which contain some of the best things in the book.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JEFFERSON AND DU PONT DE NEMOURS, *with an Introduction on Jefferson and the Physiocrats*. By Gilbert Chinard. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press; Paris: "Les Belles Lettres." 1931. cxxiii, 293 pp. \$7.50.

The correspondence between "the founder of *Physiocratie* and the father of American democracy" is a notable one. "For more than seventeen years," says Professor Chinard, "they discussed in their letters every possible subject relating to government." Nor are the letters lacking in human interest. The two men met more than once both in France and in the United States, for Du Pont died during his second stay in America. For this new volume in the Johns Hopkins Studies in International Thought Professor Chinard, the biographer of Jefferson and the editor of *The Letters of Lafayette and Jefferson*, has supplied an introduction which comes up to the high standard set by Professor Greenlaw for another series. It is readable, scholarly, and sane. Avoiding the temptation to play up the French influence upon Jefferson, he notes: "The fact is that, quite independently, he had reached the same conclusions as the French Economists on a certain number of important questions." The introduction is much more than what the editor claims for it: "a modest attempt to work out a satisfactory method for the study of the history of ideas." The publishers have made of it a beautiful book.

THE BROWN DECADES: *A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895*. By Lewis Mumford. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1931.] xii, 266 pp. \$3.00.

This study, which deals with the period following that which Mr. Mumford treated in *The Golden Day*, is concerned less with literature and more with other arts: architecture, engineering, landscape design, and painting. Nevertheless Mr. Mumford finds that "almost all the vital and important workers of the period bore the mark of Emerson, Whitman, or Thoreau." "Their influence," he adds, "was perhaps smallest in literature, if one except the impression that Emerson made upon Emily Dickinson, or Whitman upon Burroughs; but their doctrines had brought a new confidence to all the other arts: Emerson's gospel of self-reliance and his belief in a fresh start, Whitman's hearty affirmation of the vulgarities and commonplaces of life, and Thoreau's deep sense of the landscape and its influences—all these beliefs were to have their effect upon the painter and the architect and the engineer" (pp. 25-26). It is quite fitting that Thomas Eakins's portrait of Whitman should be used as the frontispiece to this suggestive and well written book. Mr. Mumford is usually con-



tent to suggest rather than to demonstrate the influence of literature upon the other arts. One would like to see a thorough-going study which dealt not only with the influence of literature upon the other arts but also with the influence of these arts upon literature.

COMPANIONS ON THE TRAIL: *A Literary Chronicle*. By Hamlin Garland. Decorations by Constance Garland. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. vi, 539 pp. \$2.50.

This sequel to *Roadside Meetings*, which covered the period 1884-1899, takes up the story with 1900 and brings it down to 1914. The earlier book seems better organized and somewhat more readable, but the later one, Mr. Garland assures us, is based upon a fairly full diary which he began to keep in 1898. Much of the book, he assures us, is practically direct quotation from this diary. Mr. Garland has the rare faculty of making live again the people whom he knew. He gives interesting glimpses or full-length pictures of Mark Twain, William Vaughn Moody, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Frank Norris, Henry B. Fuller, and Vachel Lindsay, to name only a few. Mr. Garland half promises a third volume. If he writes it, we shall have a most interesting view of the procession of American letters seen through intelligent and honest eyes. The volumes should be indexed; otherwise it will be difficult to find passages dealing with those writers whom one wishes to look up. I do not understand the following passage on page 121:

To-day at Stedman's I met Emily Dickinson, a tall, slender, graceful creature in a very smart gown. . . . She professed to like some of my writings and I could honestly reciprocate. I admire her singularly concise verse. . . .

This passage from Mr. Garland's diary apparently belongs to 1902 or thereabouts. Emily Dickinson is supposed to have died in 1886. Just whom did Mr. Garland meet at Stedman's?

STEPPING WESTWARD. By Laura E. Richards. New York and London: D. Appleton Company. 1931. xii, 406 pp. \$3.00.

A charmingly written autobiography by a daughter of Julia Ward Howe. Mrs. Richards gives us interesting pictures of the Howe circle and an occasional glimpse of such writers as Henry James and Sarah Orne Jewett. The latter half of the book deals with the life of the Richards family in Gardiner, Maine, and includes a very interesting brief account (pp. 377-383) of Edwin Arlington Robinson.

BIOGRAPHY OF ISAAC HARBY, *with an Account of the Reformed Society of Israelites of Charleston, S. C., 1824-1833*. By L. C. Moïse. [1931.] Privately printed. xiii, 145 pp.

The author of this monograph—a master's thesis from the University of South Carolina—is a grandson of Abraham Moïse, who wrote the "memoir" for *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Writings of Isaac Harby* (Charleston, 1829). Mr. Moïse has had access to a small amount of manuscript material, and his study throws some new light upon the literary career of this Charleston playwright and dramatic critic, but he has given most of his space to an account of Harby's religious activities—an emphasis explained possibly by the fact that the Lucius N. Littauer fund of the Central Conference of American Rabbis has helped to bear the expenses of the publication of the volume.

THE INGENIOUS DR. FRANKLIN: *Selected Scientific Letters of Benjamin Franklin*. Edited by Nathan G. Goodman. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. xi, 244 pp. \$3.00.

"In our scientific age," says Mr. Goodman, "these letters [of Franklin] should be especially alluring." The editor has done an excellent job of selecting and editing. He is always careful to indicate the source of his material, much of it hitherto unpublished. In an appendix he gives references to other material in Franklin's collected works.

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA IN LITERATURE. By W. Wilbur Hatfield and H. D. Roberts. Illustrated by Keith Ward. New York: The Century Company. [1931.] xiv, 650 pp.

An excellent high school text. The selections from forty or more authors are classified according to "life interests." There is an interesting literary map especially designed to illustrate the selections included.

THE GREAT PLAINS. By Walter Prescott Webb. Boston: Ginn and Company. [1931.] xv, 525 pp. \$4.00.

Students of American history have inclined too often to treat the life of the frontier as practically the same in all sections. Professor Webb, in this "study of institutions and environment," has chosen to follow one particular section of the country through all its changes. He notes that the Great Plains region is distinguished by three characteristics: "1. It exhibits a comparatively level surface of great extent. 2. It is a treeless land, an unforested area. 3. It is a region where rainfall is insufficient for

the ordinary agriculture common to lands of a humid climate. The climate is sub-humid." The Great Plains demanded changes in methods of all kinds before it was possible for men to live permanently upon them—changes in methods of Indian warfare, in transportation, in fencing, in making laws pertaining to land and water, etc. A very significant study for the American historian, and to a less extent for the student who would understand the literature of the West. Professor Webb includes a suggestive chapter on "The Literature of the Great Plains and about the Great Plains."

THE OXFORD BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE. Chosen and edited by Bliss Carman. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. [1931.] xxix, 680 pp. \$1.00.

This excellent anthology, originally published by the Oxford University Press, is now reissued in the "Boni Books in Cloth" series. At this price the anthology ought to find a place in many college courses in American literature.

J. B. H.

# ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Grey, L. "John Adams and John Trumbull in the 'Boston Cycle.'" *New Eng. Quar.*, IV, 509-514 (July, 1931).

"If John Adams had any influence on Trumbull, it would seem . . . to be away from, rather than toward, portraiture in *M'Fingal*."

[BAXTER, REV. RICHARD] Powicke, F. J. (Editor). "Some Unpublished Correspondence of the Rev. Richard Baxter and the Rev. John Eliot, 'The Apostle to the American Indians,' 1656-1682." *Periodical Bull. of the John Rylands Lib., Manchester*, XV, 138-176 (Jan., 1931) and XV, 442-446 (July, 1931).

[COOK, EBENEZER] Pole, J. T. "Ebenezer Cook and *The Maryland Muse*." *Am. Lit.*, III, 296-302 (Nov., 1931).

When Cook published *The Sot-weed Factor* in 1708, he was no more a native writer than was Charles Dickens when he wrote his *American Notes*, but by his later activities and productions he established himself as an American author. This phase of his career is best understood by a study of *The Maryland Muse*, which he published in 1731. The first two-thirds of this rare volume, a metrical account of Nathaniel Bacon's Rebellion, shows that he was a strong supporter of the ruling class and the nobility. The remainder, a reprint of *The Sot-weed Factor* with the offensive portions suppressed, shows a thorough repentance of his earlier invective, and removes the necessity of assigning *Sotweed Redivivus* (1730), a practical discussion of the tobacco problem, to an imitator rather than to Cook himself.

[COTTON, JOHN] Parkes, H. B. "John Cotton and Roger Williams Debate Toleration, 1644-1652." *New Eng. Quar.*, IV, 735-756 (Oct., 1931).

[EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Carpenter, F. I. "The Radicalism of Jonathan Edwards." *New Eng. Quar.*, IV, 629-644 (Oct., 1931).

"The preaching of Jonathan Edwards contained in itself the seeds of rebellion, both for the eighteenth century, and for the twentieth."

Caskey, E. "If They Were Alive Today. Jonathan Edwards: the First American Philosopher." *Thinker*, IV, 34-35 (Oct., 1931).

" . . . it is hard to imagine anyone who would be less at home in this world or more distressed by its actions."

[ELIOT, JOHN] Powicke, F. J. (*Vide* Rev. Richard Baxter, *supra*.)

[PAINE, THOMAS] Smith, F. "The Date of Thomas Paine's First Arrival in America." *Am. Lit.*, III, 317-318 (Nov., 1931).

Conclusive evidence is given for the date November 30, 1774. The author rejects his own previous conjecture of December 7-12, 1774, as advanced in a note in *Am. Lit.*, I, 347-371 (Jan., 1930).

[TRUMBULL, JOHN] Cowie, A. "John Trumbull as Revolutionist." *Am. Lit.*, III, 287-295 (Nov., 1931).

An analysis of *M'Fingal* leads the author to the conviction that Trumbull cannot be categorized as a flaming revolutionist of the same stripe as Paine and Freneau, as has been customary with literary historians. Although his ridicule of the Loyalists predominates, nevertheless some of his keenest shafts of satire are launched at the Whigs, and raucous democracy is always condemned. His life before the composition of *M'Fingal* shows that although he was definitely aligned with the Whigs, he was by no means a restless rebel agitator. He took no active part in the Revolution, and, even as a propagandist penman, he had to be virtually conscripted. *M'Fingal* itself was composed somewhat reluctantly, published anonymously, and valued by its author more as a literary work than as a patriotic service.

[TRUMBULL, JOHN] Grey, L. (*Vide* John Adams, *supra*.)

[WILLIAMS, ROGER] Parkes, H. B. (*Vide* John Cotton, *supra*.)

[MISCELLANEOUS] Bolwell, R. W. "The Art of Pleading: a 'Lost' Poem." *Am. Lit.*, III, 314-316 (Nov., 1931).

The anonymous "Art of Pleading" (1751), confused by Evans in his *American Bibliography* with George Smalridge's "Art of Preaching," is treated as a recovered "Lost" poem. It consists of 170 lines of heroic couplets and is a general satire on the legal profession, with a few disguised personal attacks.

Pennington, E. L. "The South Carolina Indian War of 1715, as Seen by the Clergymen." *S. C. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, XXXII, 251-269 (Oct., 1931).

## II. 1800-1870

[COOPER, JAS. F.] Muret, M. "Fenimore Cooper, Américain d'Hier." *Jour. des Debats*, 670-672 (Oct. 23, 1931).

[EMERSON, R. W.] Anonymous. "Emerson Today." *London Times Lit. Sup.*, No. I, 556, p. 940 (Nov. 26, 1931).

Ostensibly a review of Bliss Perry's *Emerson Today*, it sums up the modern English attitude toward Emerson.

Hotson, C. "George Bush: Teacher and Critic of Emerson." *Philol.*, X, 369-383 (Oct., 1931).

"The reports of Professor Bush's lectures on Swedenborg and in reply to Emerson are important sources of Emerson's final version of 'Swedenborg: or, the Mystic.'"

- [LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Thompson, R. "Additions to Longfellow Bibliography, Including a New Prose Tale." *Am. Lit.*, III, 303-308 (Nov., 1931).

A study of the files of S. G. Goodrich's *The Token* reveals some variants in the first published versions of Longfellow's poem "La Doncella" and in his prose essay "The Youth of Mary Stuart"; and it further results in the definite assignment to Longfellow's pen, for the first time, of a sketch entitled "The Convent of Paular," translated from the Spanish.

- [LOWELL, J. R.] Pritchard, J. P. "Lowell's Debt to Horace's *Ars Poetica*." *Am. Lit.*, III, 259-276 (Nov., 1931).

A study of the influence of Horace's life and literary criticism on Lowell's theory of literary art. The influences traced are not specific borrowings, but general principles of composition, such as the purpose of poetry, the talents and training required of the poet, rules and methods of composition, and warnings against materialism and the desire for popularity. This life-long approbation gave to the New England imitator and pupil the charm and sincerity that have made the master's verse ring true down through the centuries.

- [MELVILLE, H.] Morris, L. "Melville: Promethean (II)." *Open Court*, XLV, 621-635 (Oct., 1931).

- [PAULDING, J. K.] Adkins, N. F. "James K. Paulding's *Lion of the West*." *Am. Lit.*, III, 249-258 (Nov., 1931).

This play won the \$300 prize offered by Jas. H. Hackett, the celebrated comedian, in 1830, for "an original comedy whereof an American should be the leading character." An ingenious scandalmonger hit upon David Crockett, the uncouth Congressman from Tennessee, as the prototype of Paulding's Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, the eccentric member of Congress from Kentucky, about whom the play revolved. Crockett's letter to Paulding shows that this was rectified. The early performances of the play, together with two revisions, are sketched, and an outline of Paulding's original version is reprinted for the first time. The text has unfortunately been lost.

- [TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON] Shafer, J. "The Author of the 'Frontier Hypothesis.'" *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XV, 86-103 (Sept., 1931).

- [TYLER, JOHN] Anonymous. "Letters of John Tyler." *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, XIII, 73-80 (Oct., 1931).

The father of President Tyler. One letter is a description of the Richmond Theatre fire.

- [WEEMS, MASON LOCKE] Ingraham, C. A. "Mason Locke Weems. A Great American Author and Distributor of Books." *Americana*, XXV, 469-485 (Oct., 1931).

Biographical sketch of "Parson" Weems.

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Benson, A. B. "Fredrika Bremer's Unpublished Letters to the Downings." *Scand. Studies*, XI, 149-172, 187-205, 215-228, 264-274 (Feb., May, Aug., Nov., 1931).

Reactions to American life from the pen of the noted Swede.

- Chesebrough, S. "Journal of a Journey Westward." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 65-89 (Oct., 1931).

Matter-of-fact record of a Connecticut pioneer who wanted "to gain first-hand information about the Ohio country as a possible home." The journey was made in the autumn of 1817.

- Sherrer, G. B. "French Culture as Presented to Middle-class America by *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1830-1840." *Am. Lit.*, III, 277-286 (Nov., 1931).

Louis Antoine Godey had two ambitions, both of which he fulfilled: to make a million-dollars and to father a magazine that would be "the guiding star of female education, the beacon light of refined taste, pure morals, and practical wisdom." His general program for the advancement of polite learning and "lady-like" culture was strengthened by his use of French material—the subject of this study. The *Lady's Book* contained extensive references to French life and manners, chastened reprints of French fiction and verse, and biographical essays dominated by the romantic figure of Napoleon.

### III. 1870-1900

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- [FIELD, EUGENE] Sparks, G. R. "The Eugene Field of the Saints and Sinners Corner." *Pub. Weekly*, CXX, 2111-2114 (Nov. 7, 1931).

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- [HENRY, O.] Kercheville, F. M. "O. Henry and Don Alfonso." *New Mex. Quar.*, I, 367-388 (Nov., 1931).

A study of O. Henry's use of Spanish material.

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Upon taking charge of the "Editor's Study" of *Harper's Magazine* in 1885, Howells began more vigorously than ever to champion the cause of realism in American fiction. His struggles against the popular tide of rococo romances for the next two decades are traced, with especial emphasis on his sponsorship of Henry James, Hamlin Garland, Stephen Crane, and Frank Norris. The posthumous popularity of *The Pit* crowned his efforts with at least a degree of success.

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[CHURCHILL, W.] Johnson, M. "American First Editions: Winston Churchill." *Pub. Weekly*, CXIX, 327 (Jan. 17, 1931).

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